

Books in Early Modern Norway

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Books in Early Modern Norway

By

Gina Dahl



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To Jonas

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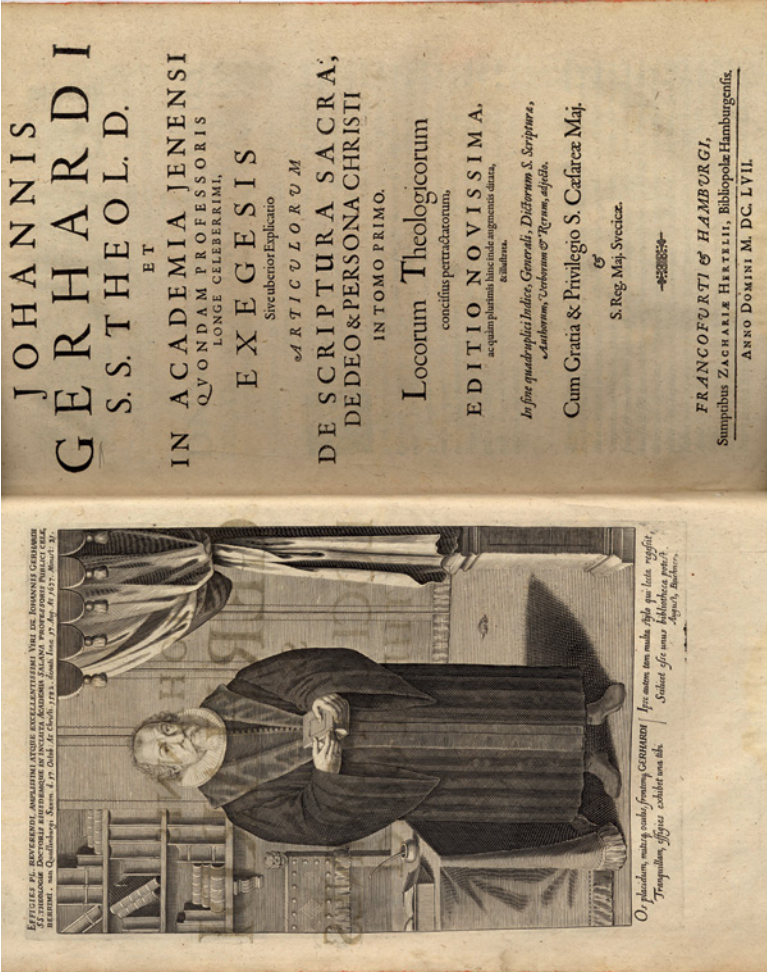
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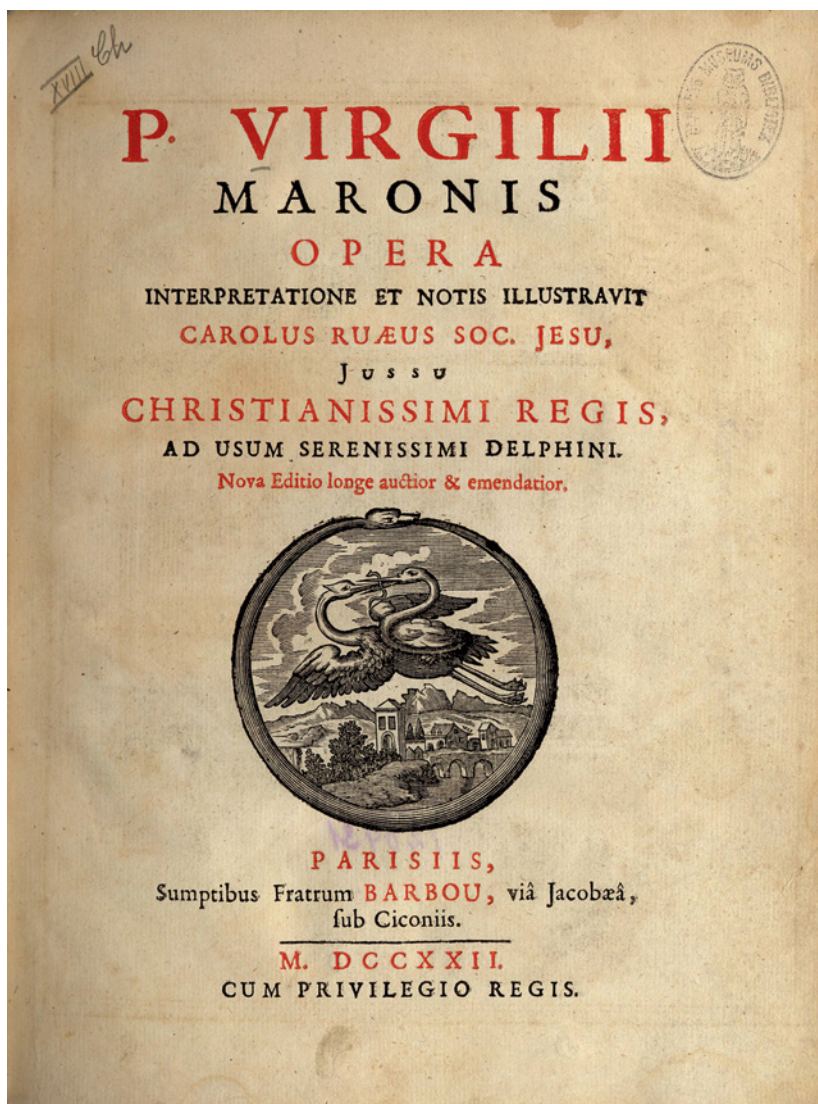
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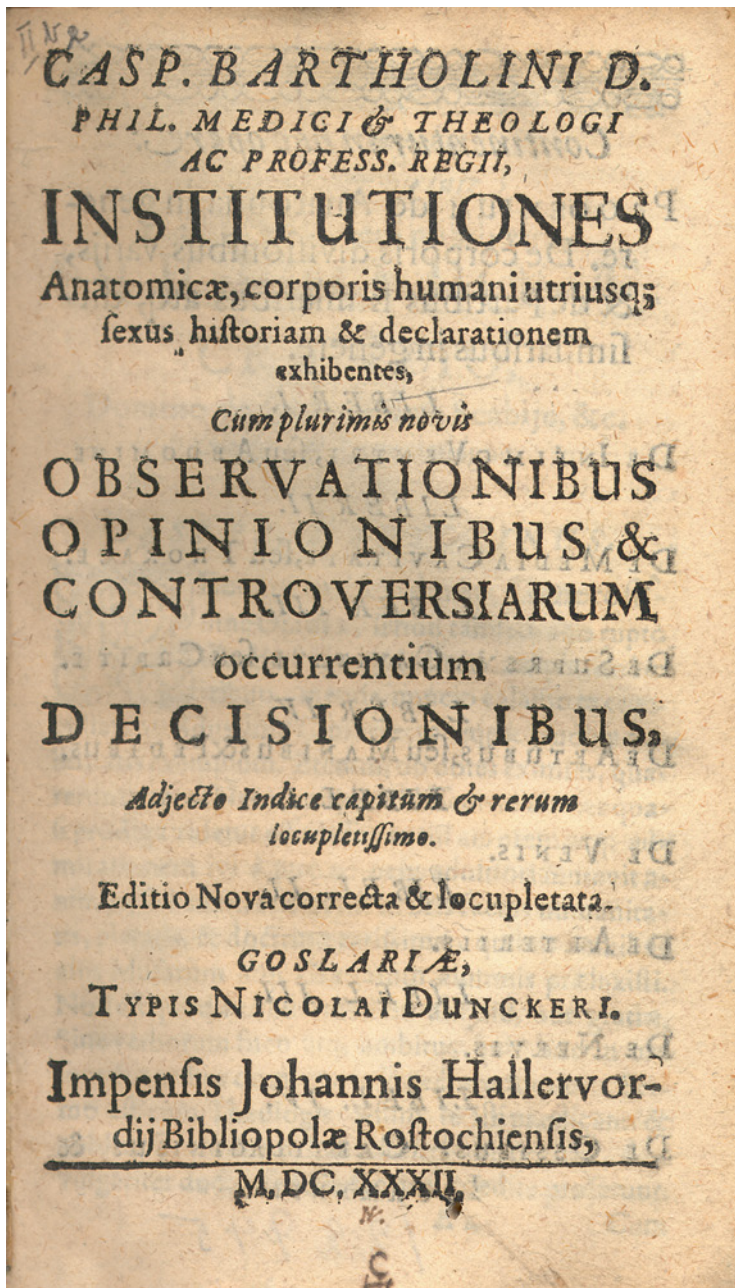
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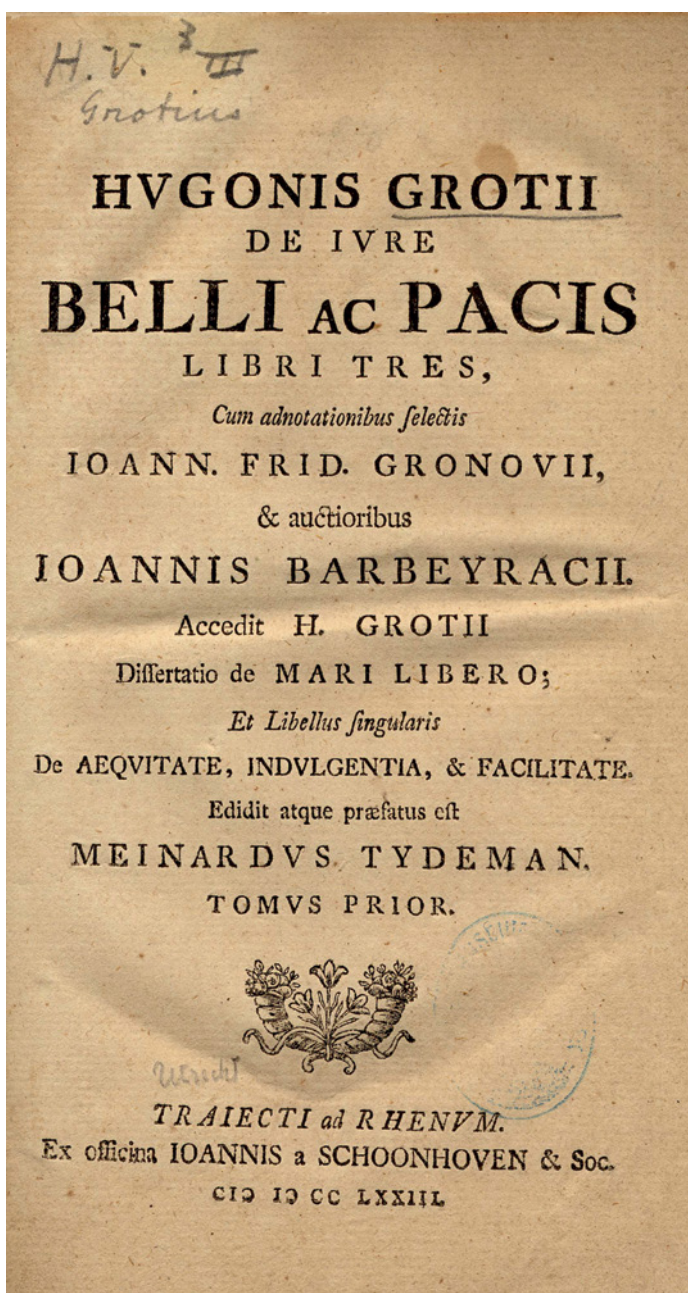
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The last comprehensive survey of Norwegian book history was published by Harald Tveterås some sixty years ago.¹ Since then, much has happened within the international arena of book research as various aspects of the “communication circuit”, to use Robert Darnton’s famous designation, have been examined.² Given the attention that *l’histoire du livre* has attracted on the part of researchers internationally, it seems strange that a new survey of book occurrences in early modern Norway should be so long overdue. The field has not been empty in recent decades, but no broad scale investigation of book occurrences has been undertaken. A variety of factors may account for this lacuna.

Geographically, Norway was a periphery, located on the northern outskirts of Europe. In a country of mountains, forests and steep fjords, conditions did little to facilitate communication between the various regions. A long coastline did counteract these obstacles to some extent, for travel by sea was the main vehicle for the exchange of both people and goods. The population was small: around the year 1500, about 170,000 people resided within the borders of what then counted as Norway, a number that had risen to 440,000 by around 1660;³ by 1700, the number of inhabitants had grown to approximately 500,000, and in 1801, the population stood at 880,000.⁴ Norway was a predominantly rural society. Between 1660 and 1814, as many as nine out of ten Norwegians lived in the countryside, sustained by farming or fishing, or by a combination of both.⁵ The urban population, by contrast, was relatively small: before the eighteenth century, only 5 to 10 per cent of the entire population lived in a town. Norway was thus one of the less

¹ Harald L. Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie* (Oslo: Norsk bokhandler-medhjelperforening, 1950).

² Robert Darnton, “What is the History of Books?” in *Books and Society in History*, ed. Kenneth Carpenter (New York and London: Bowker, 1983), 3–26.

³ Ole Georg Moseng et al., *Norsk historie 1537–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2003), 62.

⁴ Ståle Dyrvik, *Den lange fredstiden 1720–1784* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1978), 219.

⁵ Moseng et al., *Norsk historie*, 266.

urbanised countries in Europe.⁶ A study of book history in Norway, a predominantly rural society on the fringes of Europe, may not have seemed a particularly beguiling undertaking.

Politically, Norway was also a periphery. Within the double monarchy of Denmark-Norway, the successor of a relationship established in the Middle Ages, Denmark took the political lead, resulting in a highly unequal division of powers. All the principal administrative and higher educational institutions were situated in Denmark, in Copenhagen in particular, the capital of the double monarchy. Norway's first university opened its doors to the public as late as in 1813. Throughout the early modern period various petitions sought to reverse Norway's subsidiarity, many of which were issued during the era of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century. Recurrent topics in these petitions included political, administrative and economic autonomy as well as the establishment of a university on Norwegian soil. Up until the turn of the eighteenth century, such demands were consistently turned down. Although it is hard to assess the extent to which a particular Norwegian national identity existed, the separation of Denmark and Norway was an almost non-existent idea during the period of this study.⁷ The absence of administrative bodies and institutions of higher education fed into the picture of a restricted intellectual life in Norway and also failed to ignite scholarly interest in undertaking book historical studies.

There has also long been a perception that Norway was sheltered from broader European intellectual life by the official religion, for the state's two-pronged system was intended both to enforce Lutheranism and to resist foreign and indigenous ideas deemed heretical. From 1536, when Lutheranism was introduced by a single stroke of the pen, and throughout the early modern period, one of the main aims of the government was to build a Lutheran state with obedient subjects. Significant seventeenth-century decrees such as the Church Ordinance of 1607, Christian IV's Recess of 1643, the Norwegian Law of 1687 and the Church Ritual of 1685 contributed greatly to regulating society within this religious-political framework. The very fact that these endeavours led to a certain streamlining of religious and intellectual life has perhaps also made studies of the book in Norway

⁶ Moseng et al., *Norsk historie*, 64.

⁷ Moseng et al., *Norsk historie*, 247–252.

less attractive—diversity tends to attract more attention than does rigidity.

Another reason for Norwegian book history's lack of appeal may be found in the apparent inflexibility and limitations of the book market itself. Norway was the last country in Scandinavia to be equipped with a printing house (in 1643), and the number of printing houses on Norwegian soil remained very small throughout the early modern period, rising to a significant level only in the nineteenth century. As a result, Copenhagen was the main centre of book distribution throughout the early modern period. In line with the religious-political *Zeitgeist*, various censorship practices, as well as monopolies and privileges that regulated the market, were implemented, strategies intended to create unity. Not until the latter part of the early modern period were some of these constraints that determined the pattern of the book market removed.

It should be noted, however, that the government focused primarily on protecting the general population from heresies and distortions. The more learned members of society were in many ways left to evaluate book purchases for themselves. Nevertheless, all classes lived in a society of repression, and access to books was affected by governmental initiatives designed to shape the book market. Most non-specialised books originated in Copenhagen, where their publication was closely supervised. Compounding this marked Danish dominance was also the use of Danish as the official language of the twin monarchy. Whenever I refer in this study to books in the vernacular, the reference is to works in Danish. The state's close connections with Lutheran parts of Germany meant that books imported for the educated classes usually passed along a corridor running from Germany, through Denmark, and on to Norway. Particularly important as centres of distribution for books that would reach the twin monarchy were the cities of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. Such unvarying elements determined the rather static character of the flow of books in the early modern period.

In contrast to this circumscribed vision of Norwegian intellectual life and its associated market of print, a shift in European research has redirected the focus away from grand narratives that often proclaimed unity and onto accounts of variety and heterogeneity. Recent research on the Reformation has, for instance, stressed the breadth of theological interpretation, opening up a debate about whether it is appropriate to talk about *the* Reformation as a unifying

principle at all.⁸ Recent scholarship on science, or rather, natural philosophy, has also engaged with the variety of theories and practices offered. These practices cannot necessarily be termed distinctly ancient or modern, causing some scholars in this field to abandon the idea of a scientific revolution altogether. Similarly, in his *European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries*, Peter Burke acknowledges the difficulty in establishing a unifying definition of the Renaissance because of variations in ideological approach, reception and impact.⁹ This shift from often stereotypical history writing towards complexity and diversion is symptomatic of what Jean-François Lyotard has termed the postmodern collapse of the meta-narrative.¹⁰

Printing and book distribution played a pivotal role in the early modern climate of diversity. Print not only gave voice to theories but also triggered new ideas and led to the abandonment of others. Print helped in many ways in the creation and dissemination of information, although it was not the only source of information in early modern Europe; letter exchange and the circulation of manuscripts, for instance, also played their part. Print was far from being the only means of persuasion in early modern Europe, a point developed by Andrew Pettegree in his *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*.¹¹ Nevertheless, the invention of printing caused an unprecedented flood of information in most parts of Europe, a proliferation of ideas that was communicated via the expanding marketplace of ideas.

The art of printing, however, was Janus-faced. The radical growth in the circulation of ideas had significant impact in the early modern period, causing destabilisation in turn, a process aptly summarised by Peter Dear: “The considerable variety of intellectual options, closely associated with the new technology of printing, meant that Europe around 1500 was preparing itself for a battle over intellectual authority of epic proportions.”¹² One of the main challenges of the early modern

⁸ See Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002) and Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

⁹ Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

¹⁰ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, vol. 10 of *Theory and History of Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

¹¹ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹² Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and its Ambitions, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 28.

period was the threat posed to religious hegemony by the expansion of print. In principle, most early modern states, if not all, deemed it their responsibility to support one religious system or confession. The instillation of correct belief among the population would, it was thought, lead to social stability, a benevolent God and, not least, personal salvation. The dissemination of good books was an important tool in this process. Bad books, by contrast, were liable to distort the minds and souls of individuals, causing unrest in broader society and perhaps even unsettling the world order itself. Some also feared that the dissemination of the wrong books would lead to a democratisation of knowledge and the arousal of undesirable emotions. Reading, for better or for worse, was held to have the power to influence “the knowledge, the beliefs, the understanding, the opinions, the sense of identity, the loyalties, the moral values, the sensibility, the memories, the dreams, and therefore, ultimately, the actions of men, women and children.”¹³

Control of the market for print appeared to be one means by which religious and social order could be established and maintained. On one hand, the dissemination of print appears to have contributed diversity and expansion to early modern culture, but on the other hand, the various efforts taken to control the written word helped forge a restricted culture. Elizabeth Eisenstein, the author of the now-classic *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, has vividly stressed the importance of official religion in regulating the market of books.¹⁴ According to Eisenstein, political and religious regimes decisively

¹³ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1. The ability of books to influence the socio-religious sphere has been asserted by various researchers: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, for instance, claim in their *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: NLB, 1976) that although the Reformation was not solely a child of the printing press, the advent of print surely aided the spread of the new religious message. This possibility was also recognised by the various reformers themselves. John Foxe, in a section of his *Book of Martyrs* entitled “The Invention and Benefit of Printing” stated that “by this printing, as by the gift of the tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven; and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation, is opened to all.” See John N. Wall Jr., “The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution,” in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance*, ed. G. P. Tyson and S. S. Wagonheim (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 210–211.

¹⁴ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

shaped the book market within their geographical areas, and only in free zones such as free city states could a less restrictive culture of publication find its feet.¹⁵ Other scholars have demonstrated that supervision of the market of print was not always successful. Adrian Johns, for instance, who stresses that print should be seen as a matter of personal agency rather than a product of culture, has drawn our attention to all those situations where regulations went unheeded in the local setting. According to Johns, the Roman Catholic Index was effectively ignored in the greater part of France, and even in Rome a variety of market practices could operate regardless.¹⁶ The difficulties in controlling the printing press have also been raised by Henry Phillips, for instance, in his *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*,¹⁷ and the effects of undesirable print on society have been discussed by Robert Darnton in his *Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*.¹⁸

In sum, the early modern market for print lay betwixt and between. Most presses were closely supervised by the government in order to maintain stability, religious or political, and this control determined the pattern of the book trade within distinct geographical areas. Still, as a result of the vastness of the market for print, the boundaries created in order to streamline that market could never be all-encompassing. And with time, the envisioned unity would be eroded even further. By the end of the early modern period, religion had lost its hegemony over the market of print, for as European society became more secular at the end of the early modern period, religious literature increasingly constituted only part of a greater array of available literature. The position of religion within the print market mirrored the situation of religion more broadly at the dawn of modernity. Although Europe remained a primarily Christian society, religious discourse found itself more and more estranged by the processes of secularisation from the scientific and legal spheres and also increasingly excluded from the political arena more broadly.

¹⁵ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," *The American Historical Review* 107/1 (2002): 87–105.

¹⁶ Adrian Johns, "How to Acknowledge a Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 107/1 (2002): 106–125.

¹⁷ Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁸ Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995).

The main aim of this book is to depict the contours of book circulation in early modern Norway in such a manner that both continuities and specific moments of change are evident. It is my overall contention that the Norwegian book market was *European*. Book occurrences in early modern Norway were marked by internationality in two different senses, one signalling rigidity and one signalling multiplicity and diversity. On the one hand, various processes that shaped the broader European print market also found their counterparts in Norway. For example, the post-Reformation confessionalisation strategies launched in order to establish religious uniformity made use of the closely supervised printing press in order to instil the new faith in the general population. Danish publication of various edifying books *en masse*, for example, catechisms and ABCs, was part of a European trend intended to streamline the religiosity of the broader population. Religiously and politically motivated efforts to control the written word thus placed restrictions on what was permitted to circulate in print, as quite distinct socio-religious impetuses patterned the print market in early modern Norway.

On the other hand, the books owned by the learned strata in Norway were international in a very concrete and hands-on sense that signals heterogeneity. Books circulating among this section of society were mainly imported from abroad and often from beyond Copenhagen, partly because the learned communities at the time were too small to provide domestic printers with a decent income. As a result, the world of learning of the educated population also followed European trends. Although much of this trade passed along a corridor stretching from Germany, through Denmark, and on to Norway, other areas that were part of international networks of education and trade were also important to the dissemination of books. Trade between Norwegian towns and the extra-Norwegian world was lively. At the end of the sixteenth century, Bergen exported about 5,000 tons of fish annually,¹⁹ and with time, timber, copper, iron and silver also became important commodities in overseas trade. Although Denmark and Protestant Germany remained the principal destinations for these goods, England, Scotland and the Netherlands also provided highly significant markets.

¹⁹ Øystein Rian, *Den nye begynnelsen 1520–1660* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2005), 117. During the seventeenth century, only in the Netherlands was a higher percentage of the total economy built on overseas trade; see also Rian, *Den nye begynnelsen*, 223.

Western regions of Norway also developed trade routes to southern parts of Europe.²⁰ This trade provided the possibility of unregulated book exchange, and indeed many of the works that circulated within educated echelons in Norwegian society had originated in England or the Netherlands, where Leiden and Amsterdam were especially prominent. Amsterdam had become the most important centre of book production in Europe in the latter part of the seventeenth century.²¹ The varied nature of the books that were transported along these lines of communication, books both desirable and undesirable, give grounds for the argument that the early modern Norwegian book market was diverse and pluralistic, rather than a merely static entity.

One should also note that much of this exchange with the world beyond Norway happened through the towns, which constituted a more complex arena of exchange than the rural areas. The number of towns in Norway rose significantly during the early modern period, coinciding with a general population growth and the development of a more flourishing economy. From 1660 to 1801, the number of towns in Norway grew from only a handful to around thirty, and most of these lay along the southern coast. The number of town residents grew at the same pace: in 1530, 10,000–12,000 people lived in Norwegian towns; by 1660 this number had risen to 25,000;²² and by 1801, to approximately 90,000–100,000.²³ Three towns with medieval ancestry remained the largest, namely, Christiania (now Oslo), Trondheim and the most populous, Bergen. In 1650, the population of Bergen was about 8–9,000, while 4,000 inhabitants resided in Christiania and 2,500 in Trondheim.²⁴ As the number of towns grew, whatever their size, the preconditions for cultural exchange expanded.

By throwing light on the Norwegian book market's significant internationality, I hope to demonstrate that several of the early modern developments outlined in recent European research are also evident in a Norwegian context. First, and as commented upon above, the prominence of towns in the dissemination of books in other parts of Europe

²⁰ Ståle Dyrvik and Ole Feldbæk, *Mellom brødre 1780–1830* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2005), 13.

²¹ Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge from Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2000), 163.

²² Moseng et al., *Norsk historie*, 64.

²³ Sølvi Sogner, *Krig og fred 1660–1780* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2005), 205.

²⁴ Moseng et al., *Norsk historie*, 304.

was repeated in early modern Norway.²⁵ Second, typical of the book market in Norway, as in early modern France, was the extended life of popular books and the gradual replacement of Latin works by works in the vernacular among the learned sections of society.²⁶ Third, the surge in the number of books on the late eighteenth-century book market in countries such as France, Germany and England also took place in Norway.²⁷ This boom was marked by a profound interest in new authors and in new forms of publishing that included novels and much-in-demand self-help books.²⁸ Additional trends evident in the Norwegian early modern book market include a general increase in the number of books on subjects such as geography, natural history, politics and education, and the attendant disappearance of the overwhelming predominance of theology and religion.²⁹

Other European trends are also attested in the Norwegian material, although sometimes indirectly. The German historian Rolf Engelsing has suggested that eighteenth-century readers passed from reading ‘intensively’ to reading ‘extensively’.³⁰ Although this interpretation has been criticised on the grounds, for example, that people did not necessarily stop reading intensively and that the mere task of “browsing, skimming or consulting” was a tradition of longer ancestry,³¹ a broad-scale shift in reading practices can be discerned in the Norwegian context from the increase in the number of books on the market. The growth of the public sphere, linked by Habermas to the various media that enabled private persons to participate in public debate, is likewise evident for Norway.³² Reading societies, for instance, were established

²⁵ See for instance Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

²⁶ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 319–323, 329–331.

²⁷ Chartier has shown that book mass among Parisians grew radically in the period 1700–1780: Whereas clerics, for instance, possessed 20–50 books around 1700, this number had soared to 100–300 by 1780; see Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 69.

²⁸ David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 111–113.

²⁹ See Reinhard Wittmann, “Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), 302.

³⁰ Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1974).

³¹ Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge*, 179.

³² Jürgen Habermas, *Borgerlig offentlighet*, trans. Elling Schwabe-Hansen, Helge Høibraaten and Jon Øien (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2002).

in the later eighteenth century and new types of literature were disseminated in significant numbers. Religious works gradually relinquished their dominance of the broader European book market in terms of literal representation, a process that can also be observed in late eighteenth-century Norway. In sum, therefore, the book market in Norway developed at the same pace as in any other European periphery.

My presentation of book occurrences in early modern Norway is based on what Jonathan I. Israel has categorised as a “diffusionist” approach, namely, the study of cultures through the dissemination of various types of print material.³³ The source material that I use consists mainly of inventories and auction and library catalogues. On some occasions in this study, broadly conceived structures of book distribution are considered, whereas at other times, I draw on examples of specific book collections; the supporting evidence depends somewhat on the source material available. The discussion also incorporates tables listing significant authors and works that are likely to be of interest to readers of this topic.

There are, I recognise, various problems with this diffusionist approach. Records such as inventories and auction and library catalogues have their limitations. As Chartier stresses, the use of inventories and printed catalogues of library sales in order to map book dissemination “can be misleading. For one thing, it takes into account only works sufficiently valuable to be thought worth mentioning in an inventory of personal possessions or a listing of items to be sold at public auction. For another, it gives no indication of books that readers did not own but might have borrowed, read in someone else’s house, or heard someone else read.”³⁴ There are additional potential stumbling blocks in the use of such lists to determine major trends in the early modern book mass. The problem of “textual fixity” was addressed by Adrian Johns in his *Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*.³⁵ As printing was an unstable process, we cannot know the

³³ Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man 1670–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 18–19.

³⁴ Roger Chartier, “Reading Matter and ‘Popular’ Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), 270.

³⁵ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

extent to which the titles recorded in the source material resemble the original works. Copyright law was not introduced in Denmark-Norway until 1741. Also, ephemeral forms of literature such as broadsheets tend not to make an appearance in our source material; we also do not encounter many manuscripts, even though their readers may well have held them in the same esteem as printed books. Such deficiencies in the source material are one reason for my decision to focus on the dissemination of *books* in particular. On a more positive note, statistical comparisons can help chart cultural currents,³⁶ as quantitative techniques enable us to measure distribution and to recognise trends, fluctuations and correlations.³⁷ And indeed, the use of inventories as well as auction and library catalogues has some very distinct advantages when it comes to the mapping of book occurrences in early modern Norway: as printing houses were established relatively late on Norwegian soil and even then were not able to meet the demand for books, book distribution in Norway cannot be mapped solely on the basis of records of book production.

Other aspects of my survey also require comment. Although I term the chronological sweep of my study 'early modern', in Norway, as in several other countries, an efficient auction system and the registration of inventories functioned at best only from the mid- or late-seventeenth century onwards. As a result, the weight of my study will be on the latter part of the early modern period, on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular. Similarly, I do not focus extensively on the book trade itself, the necessary precondition for book distribution, for little work has been done to map the import of books from Denmark and beyond. This work is a study of book dissemination; the reader and the experience of reading lie beyond its scope. I will not address here the link between oral and literary culture or the questions of how particular texts were understood or for what purposes they were read. A book by Cicero, for instance, could be read for practical rhetorical reasons, for historic information, for entertainment, or for retrieving political expertise. Such reading issues do not, however, fall within the bounds of my enquiry.

³⁶ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1990), 160.

³⁷ Alexis Weedon, "The Uses of Quantification," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 37.

Other features of my presentation of book dissemination in early modern Norway should also be established in this introduction. First, although I think of Norway as an entity with distinct borders, these boundaries were not necessarily identical throughout the early modern period. The notion of the twin monarchy Denmark-Norway also rules out the existence of something as exclusively Norwegian or exclusively Danish. Second, and as mentioned above, books circulating in Norway were not necessarily Norwegian by either authorship or publication, neither were their sellers nor their purchasers necessarily Norwegian in the sense of having been born on Norwegian soil. In the first part of the early modern period, many officials serving in Norway were Danish-born or even German-born. Still, my use of the term 'Norway' is justified by my discussion of book occurrences within the borders of what today is called Norway.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the notion of class. Throughout this book, I refer to the 'lower classes' and to the 'learned classes' and to the differences between them when it came to the possession of or access to books. In general, the lower class is the equivalent of the group to which the so-called 'common man' belonged. But who, then, was 'the common man' in the early modern period? Conveniently, this label can be applied to the less educated, i.e., to ordinary people, who lived mainly in rural areas; as noted above, the majority of the early modern Norwegian population lived in the countryside, distant from towns and educational institutions such as Latin schools. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, the urban population had still not risen above thirteen per cent of the entire population. Most people, therefore, were farmers, farmhands, crofters, cotters, farmers' wives and so forth.³⁸

For a number of reasons, however, one must be careful to avoid placing all rural inhabitants automatically into the lower class category. First, members of the upper middle classes also resided in rural areas. Second, early modern Norwegian society was equipped with a relatively high number of farmers who owned their own land and could amass considerable wealth; some of these rural landowners might have purchased, and read, a higher number of books than had certain members of the learned classes. Third, town dwellers with a small income

³⁸ Eva Österberg and Erling Sandmo, "Introduction," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 13.

might also be included in this lower-class category. The label 'common man', although primarily applied to a person living in the rural areas of Norway, is open to qualification and variation. Similarly, cultural exchange between the classes must not be understood in overly static terms. Although in his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* Peter Burke asserts that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the upper class, or ruling elite, gradually withdrew from a popular culture that it simultaneously tried to (re)form,³⁹ more recent voices have stressed that the early modern interaction between social classes remained ambiguous, contradictory, multivalent, overlapping, divided, dynamic and so forth.⁴⁰

Who, then, were 'the learned' in early modern Norway? In general, this grouping belonged to the upper or upper middle strata of the population. However, if the term upper class implies nobility, then very few individuals in Norway belonged in this category, although the significance of the nobility in the sixteenth century in particular has been underestimated.⁴¹ Also absent from Norwegian society were large circles of intellectuals gathered within institutions of higher education. Instead, Norway possessed an educated upper middle class many members of which were governmentally appointed officials. These officials, then, can be labelled the learned classes in early modern Norway. At least in the first part of the early modern period, many who fell into this category were clergy. Around 1660, the two main groupings among the 1,000 to 1,200 administrative officials in Norway were parsons and officers.⁴² With time, the number of officials who were military personnel, administrative staff, lawyers or bailiffs grew. By the early eighteenth century, there were approximately 1,650 administrative officials in Norway, a number made up of 400 clerics, 550 civil officials and 700 officers. By 1800, there were a total of 1,800 servants of the state on Norwegian soil, of whom approximately 600 were civil officials, 400 clerics and 800 officers.⁴³

³⁹ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978).

⁴⁰ John Mullan and Christopher Reid, *Eighteenth-Century Popular Culture: A Selection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3.

⁴¹ Rian, *Den nye begynnelsen*, 146.

⁴² Knut Mykland, *Gjennom nødsår og krig 1648–1720* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens forlag, 1977), 184.

⁴³ Dyrvik, *Den lange fredstiden*, 313–314.

Another group that also grew in importance during the early modern period and can be placed within this upper-middle category were the bourgeoisie. In its strictest sense, the term 'bourgeoisie' refers to those urban individuals who were given the legal right to engage in businesses such as trade, shipping and various skilled crafts. In Norway, only a third or a quarter of those who lived in towns were part of the 'bourgeoisie' in this strict sense of the word.⁴⁴ This group could, nevertheless, accumulate a wealth superior to that of the governmentally appointed officials mentioned above, and they also had book markets more readily at hand than those residing in rural districts. And the bourgeoisie and governmentally appointed officials were not alone on the rapidly expanding urban stage; they were joined by the lower middle class, a section of society that included shopkeepers, for example. If their income allowed, these individuals had the opportunity to engage in a more varied print culture than those in rural areas. Often to be found in an urban context were also intellectuals who did not hold official positions but similarly engaged with the public sphere; these individuals were indeed also 'learned'. Our difficulty in establishing clear divisions between classes is symptomatic of the transformation that took place, primarily during the eighteenth century, from a traditional, religiously oriented society into a more capitalistic society in which class distinctions were less clearly defined.

This book is constructed as follows. Chapter 2 outlines political and religious developments in early modern Denmark-Norway, developments which profoundly affected the book trade. This chapter also considers the broader structures of the Norwegian book market, various book industry regulations, censorship and the different book market professionals. The following five chapters, chapters 3 to 7, discuss books belonging to specific groups within early modern society such as theologians, physicians and lawyers. Each of these thematic chapters is provided with a short introduction that contextualises the empirical material. The more profound structural changes in the late eighteenth-century book mass are addressed specifically in chapters 8 and 9, chapters that reflect the internationality of the early modern market for print.

⁴⁴ Sogner, *Krig og fred*, 254.

CHAPTER TWO

BOOKS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

2.1 *Historical background*

In 1721, Peter Nørvig, a Dane, was granted a privilege to start Bergen's first printing house; two years later he also received privilege for a sales office. In order to survive in the market, Nørvig printed material that he assumed would be attractive to a good range of readers. He first printed the newspaper *Ridende Mercurius*, for which he was, however, charged with plagiarism by the Danish magazine *Danske Relationer*. He also printed a number of religious books, but some of these works were also issued illegally, as Nørvig violated another printer's exclusive rights to publish them.¹

That Nørvig printed religious works, whether legally or illegally, was typical of the book market in early modern Norway. As noted in the introduction, one of the main aims of the Danish-Norwegian state was to promote Lutheranism in order to ensure religious and political uniformity and social stability. As a means to this end, a high number of books promoting Lutheranism were made available, books that came to be valued by the broader population. The climate for religious works was not unvarying throughout the early modern period, as Lutheranism itself developed in response to shifts within German theology. These various currents influenced both what was to be printed and what should *not* be put into print, a process with broad ramifications for the book market in early modern Norway.

The sixteenth century is known in the Norwegian context as the Reformation century, an indication of the length of time needed to implement distinctly Lutheran forms in both practice and attitude. In the wake of the Reformation, Lutheranism was enforced by the king through the establishment of a carefully designed church ordinance, elaborated by Luther's close collaborator Johann Bugenhagen (d. 1558),

¹ Gunnar Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier gjennom fire århundrer 1640–1940* (Oslo: Den norske boktrykkerforening, 1983), 42–45. Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 73–76.

in the late 1530s. This church ordinance was the platform for the diffusion of Lutheranism and stressed that theologians involved in converting the masses should not become too profound and thereby confuse their new Protestant listeners. A deeper understanding of theology was to penetrate through to the masses little by little, a conscious decision of a *realpolitik* that aimed to avoid the outbreak of revolt.² Caution was also extended into the appointment of superintendents (bishops), as only those who openly favoured Catholicism were removed. These new superintendents were responsible in their turn for the conversion of the clergy, and their most practical means for enforcing Lutheranism were the *synode* and *visitas*, that is, assemblies for discussion and visitations conducted in order to supervise the practices of local clerics. These strategies, although not specified as obligatory in the Church Ordinance of 1537/39, became important tools for enforcing Lutheranism among the formerly Roman Catholic clergy.

In contrast to the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century has usually been classified as the age of Lutheran orthodoxy, a term that reflects the profound influence of German Lutheran currents on Danish-Norwegian religious life. Lutheran orthodoxy aimed to construct the pure Lutheran message by drawing up demarcation lines between Lutheranism and other confessions. These endeavours resulted in elaborations of Scripture that developed into all-encompassing systems;³ well-known examples of dogmatic treatises that resulted from this process include *Loci communes theologici* by Johann Gerhard (d. 1637) and on Danish soil *Universae theologiae systema* by Jesper Brochmand (d. 1652). The theology conveyed throughout the era of orthodoxy, at least as it came to be rooted in Denmark-Norway, was that of *poenitentia*, piety coupled with repentance for one's sins. This specific type of religiosity, which had already put down roots in the late sixteenth century, emphasised the idea that faith would be granted through acceptance of sin. This stress on the acceptance of and repentance for personal sinfulness was seen as a re-enactment of Lutheran understanding of salvation, granted by faith alone, without action, a message that the Philippists had allegedly betrayed. The period of orthodoxy also coincided with a stronger

² Bernt Oftestad, Tarald Rasmussen and Jan Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1993), 104–105.

³ Nils Gilje and Tarald Rasmussen, *Tankeliv i den lutherske stat 1537–1814* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2002), 70–74.

emphasis on church discipline, a trend that occurred simultaneously in both Protestant and Roman Catholic countries in a period of social distress, warfare and plague.

The introduction of absolutism in 1660, when Frederik III curbed the power of the Parliament (*riksrådet*), aided the cause of Lutheran orthodoxy by promoting centralisation, a process that went hand in hand with greater standardisation. First, requirements for schooling were gradually strengthened. Second, church life was regulated by a new law, passed in 1685, on church rituals, which would define the form of church services in Denmark-Norway for the next two hundred years. The official focus on standardisation, aimed implicitly also at personal piety, led to the publication of a whole range of catechisms and hymn books that would also remain influential for centuries; many of these texts promoted Lutheran orthodoxy (see chapters 3 and 4 below). Overall, therefore, the seventeenth century saw the implementation of pervasive structures that would shape forms of religious life for generations.

Despite the persistent German influence on Danish-Norwegian religious life, alternative religious currents mitigated the effects of seventeenth-century *poenitentia* theology. One example is found in spiritualist literature that originated throughout Europe, such as works by Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471), Johann Arndt (d. 1621), Christian Scriver (d. 1693) and Heinrich Müller (d. 1675). Likewise counteracting the rigidity of the *poenitentia* theology was so-called 'the English method of preaching', a style inspired by English religious life in which there was greater appeal to the human will than in Lutheran orthodoxy.⁴ The impact of this preaching style in Denmark-Norway, largely the result of an acquaintance with English religious literature, was felt particularly between 1650 and the first decades of the eighteenth century. During this period, several religious works of English origin appeared in Danish, including seventeenth-century translations of Joseph Henshaw's *Horae Successivae* and Lewis Bayly's *Praxis pietatis*.

A new religious current was established on Danish-Norwegian soil in the first half of the eighteenth century: Pietism, a pious and active form of Protestantism that had its apogee in the broader northern European context at approximately the same time. With its origins in

⁴ Olav Hagesæther, *Norsk preken fra Reformasjonen til om lag 1820* (Oslo, Bergen and Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1973), 125–126.

an earlier, mystical form of Protestantism, Pietism reacted against the seventeenth-century theological focus on dogma and against passive listening and preoccupation with repentance and sin. In opposition to this more gloomy theology, Pietism encouraged external action in combination with a more spiritual interpretation of scripture. As for earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theological movements, the key inspirations for Pietist religiosity as it evolved in Denmark-Norway were to be found in Germany. Danish-Norwegian religious life at the time was particularly influenced by the theology formulated at the University of Halle, more specifically by the writings of Philipp Jacob Spener (d. 1705) and August Hermann Francke (d. 1727). Spener's emphasis on the accessibility of the Bible, textual studies and religious meetings understood in terms of a priesthood of all believers—closely resembling Luther's original aims—came to be central to the Pietist cause,⁵ as did Francke's particular interest in the practical results of a Christian life. Francke became the *primus motor* for the establishment of children's homes and schools for the poor, and he was also a firm supporter of missionary activities.⁶

In terms of its Danish-Norwegian reception, Pietism appeared in three phases. First, Pietism emerged as a clerical demand for reform. The prime example of this movement in Norway was the coalition of parsons called the 'Syvstjerne', the star of seven, a group who promoted church reform, mission, higher education and stronger church discipline, as well as a more pervasive dissemination of edifying books.⁷ A second wave of Pietism expressed itself in more radical, spiritualist forms, a type of religiosity that was partly inspired by the theology of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (d. 1760), whose adherents were even to be found within the Danish court. The broader masses were introduced to Pietist theology in its third phase, that of state Pietism, which accorded with initiatives by Christian VI (d. 1746) that were intended to make Pietism an official governmental programme. The repercussions of this project were felt on several levels, including state support for the missionary cause. Other Pietistic aims, such as the wider distribution of edifying literature and the construction of homes for poor children, were also supported financially by official means. The centrality of Christian education resulted in the confirmation law

⁵ Leif Grane, ed., *Det teologiske fakultet* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1980), 187.

⁶ Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 145–146.

⁷ Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 149.

enacted in 1736; the theologian designated to write the catechism used in this schooling was Erik Pontoppidan the Younger (d. 1764), one of the most influential Danish-Norwegian theologians of the eighteenth century. As part of the campaign to promote the practice of confirmation, those who had not been confirmed were excluded from military service and unable to marry.⁸

A change in the intellectual and religious climate can be observed in the decades from 1750 to 1800, a period that in the Danish-Norwegian context has been labelled the age of Enlightenment. Symptomatic of this new attitude was a stronger focus on reason, tolerance and science, which engendered a rejection of traditionalism and authoritarianism. The merging of Enlightenment philosophy with theology led to an upsurge in natural religion, and particularly influential in the spread of such ideas in Denmark-Norway was the German philosopher Christian Wolff (d. 1754). Several Danish-Norwegian authors also promoted enlightened ideas, of whom the Copenhagen professor and polymath Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754) is deemed one of the leading figures as a result of his varied writings on issues such as history, natural law and religion. In keeping with the *Zeitgeist*, new print media and public forums emerged, as did schools whose curricula were no longer primarily tied to theology. Norway's first royal society of science (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab) was also established in 1760 within this context (see chapter 8).

As in other European countries, a range of steps were taken throughout the early modern period in order to build a pure Lutheran society. These precautions served to prevent heresies from infiltrating the broader masses, heresies that threatened from within the Church as well as from abroad. The measures that were adopted were not, however, immutable, but rather varied in response to the situation they encountered in religious life. As a result, these measures also form a backdrop to the patterning of the market for print.

Particular attention was given during the Reformation century to countering the multiplicity of Protestantisms that developed and spread across northern Europe. In 1539, the *fundats*, or charter, of the University of Copenhagen stated that all persons creating illegal sects were to be expelled from Danish-Norwegian crown territories.⁹

⁸ Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 155.

⁹ Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie 1500–1850* (Oslo: Humanist forlag, 2001), 31.

In 1553, in response to a fear of Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, foreigners were forbidden to settle in Denmark-Norway unless they could provide proof of religious orthodoxy, a prohibition that was renewed in 1555. The Strangers' Articles were drafted in 1569 as a reaction against the steady stream of religious exiles from the Netherlands in the wake of the violent Counter-Reformation initiated by the Duke of Alva. All foreigners were ordered to subscribe to the Articles; those who failed to do so were to be expelled.¹⁰ Mirroring the broader northern European conflict between Gnesio-Lutheranism and its supposed betrayers, action was also taken against Crypto-Calvinism and Philippism, heterodoxies that infiltrated the learned classes in particular. Two Copenhagen professors, Niels Hemmingsen (d. 1600) and Cort Aslakssøn (d. 1624), were charged with Crypto-Calvinism. And throughout the sixteenth century, steps were also taken to eliminate remnants of Roman Catholicism among all sections of the population.

The subsequent period of orthodoxy was marked by profound hostility towards non-Lutheran expressions typical of Lutheran orthodoxy as genre: dependent on the creation of demarcation lines, Lutheran orthodoxy was bound to indulge in polemics against other confessions. As in the previous century, remnants of Roman Catholicism, and also of Crypto-Calvinism, were constant targets. Roman Catholicism remained a particular source of anxiety in the early seventeenth century, largely due to the attractiveness of Jesuit schools abroad with their highly efficient system of learning. It appears, however, that by the mid-seventeenth century organised Crypto-Catholicism on Norwegian soil had by and large come to an end.¹¹ Throughout the seventeenth century, various magical practices also encountered hostility. This attack targeted not only those alleged to have used witchcraft—the number of such trials diminished greatly in the course of the century—but also learned 'magi', notably, adherents of a Paracelsian- or Boehme-inspired spiritualism who were hostile to the established church, such as Anders Kempe (b. 1622) and Niels Svendsen Chronich (b. ca. 1608).

¹⁰ Ole Peter Grell and Thorkild Lyby, "The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark-Norway," in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 118–119.

¹¹ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk frikenkerhistorie*, 73.

In the later seventeenth century, harsh punishment for non-conformity was rigidly enforced. As a decree of 1687 reaffirmed, blasphemy was, for example, to be punished by tearing out the culprit's tongue and decapitation.¹² However, by the late seventeenth century a strong mercantile interest increasingly counteracted this inflexibility, leading to the relaxation of certain restrictive practices. Diplomats were allowed freedom of religious practice within their own homes and Jews, too, were granted a very limited freedom of religion. A shortage of naval recruits led to Roman Catholic sailors being granted the right to celebrate mass in Christiania and Bergen, while newly founded Norwegian towns such as Fredrikstad and Kristiansand permitted the entry of Roman Catholic and Calvinist immigrants in 1682 and 1686 respectively. Huguenots were also partly tolerated, their mercantile skills highly valued by Christian V.¹³ It should be noted, however, that this openness did not extend to the general population. Instead, these were mere dents in a society where religious, social and political stability continued to be of ultimate importance.

In general, church discipline remained just as harsh in the first half of the eighteenth century as it had been earlier. Violators of ecclesiastical decrees were punished by fining or in the pillory, depending on the nature of their offense.¹⁴ A specific threat was deemed to come during the eighteenth century from the growing number of radical spiritualists who were in part inspired by the renewed Pietist focus on a spiritual priesthood of all believers. Particularly troublesome were the private meetings held by this new range of 'awakened' Christians, and the government responded in 1741 with the *konventikkelplakat* which declared unsupervised religious meetings (such as those held by the Moravians) illegal. Other spiritualists also faced legal restrictions: the Quaker missionary Christopher Meidel (d. 1715) was exiled in 1703, as was the radical Pietist preacher Johann Otto Glüsing in 1706.¹⁵ Anabaptists and other separatists who refused to conform could be exiled to free city states such as Altona, Frederica or Friedrichstadt.

Some confessional guarantees were nevertheless brought into effect during the course of the eighteenth century. In 1736, Calvinists were

¹² Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 123.

¹³ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 36–37.

¹⁴ Arne Bugge Amundsen, ed., *Norges religionshistorie* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005), 255–256.

¹⁵ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 150–155.

granted the right to raise their children free of religious constraints, and in 1747, specific conditions allowed Lutheran students to join Calvinist schools.¹⁶ Still, although Calvinist theology was increasingly accepted as part of the larger Protestant confession, hostility towards Roman Catholicism prevailed: in 1745 strong anti-Catholic decrees were reaffirmed and marriage between adherents of the two confessions was forbidden.¹⁷ During the era of the Enlightenment, however, at some points the lines of demarcation shifted. In the later eighteenth century freedom of religion for those adhering to a Christian confession was granted to several northern Norwegian commercial centres in order to revitalise trade.¹⁸ Still, whatever cracks may have been appearing, they did not lead to wide scale toleration that might have reached the broader masses. Instead, the government took various steps to contain enlightened criticism, some of which targeted religion and politics. The theistic and allegedly blasphemous book *Die unwandelbare und ewige Religion der ältesten naturforscher und sogenannten Adepten* (1760) by the Altona lawyer Georg Schade was, for example, publicly burned by the hangman in Hamburg, and its author exiled to Christiansø.¹⁹

Alongside these measures intended to create unity, one should note the presence of various non-supervised arenas of intellectual and religious exchange, the most important of which was overseas trade (see chapter 1). Demography also generated a potent arena for such exchange. A fair number of Danes settled in Norway, as did German Protestants: Bergen, for instance, had a large Hanseatic population throughout most of the early modern period, and Trondheim attracted so many Flensburg craftsmen and sailors around 1700 that the city was referred to as 'zweiter Flensburg'.²⁰ People of other nationalities, sometimes from territories that were not necessarily Lutheran, also moved to Norway. Several officers from the Netherlands, for instance, settled in the eastern Norwegian town of Fredrikstad, and an important Irish colony was established in the town of Kristiansund.²¹ Although the social, cultural and religious diversity of the urban environment

¹⁶ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 196.

¹⁷ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 197.

¹⁸ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 249.

¹⁹ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 216.

²⁰ Sogner, *Krig og fred*, 85.

²¹ Finn-Einar Eliassen, "Patrisiat og allmue," in *Norsk byhistorie gjennom 1300 år*, ed. Helle et al. (Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 2006), 228–233.

remained far greater than that of rural areas, a lively exchange went on between towns and their surrounding districts, whose impact on religious beliefs has yet to be fully examined.

In sum, however, the religious climate in early modern Norway can be characterised as restrictive, with greater inclusiveness only perceptible from a long-term perspective. Limited openness towards other Protestant confessions was a novelty of the latter stages of the early modern period. And this openness should not be over-stated: these gradual changes were but early, tentative steps in an irreversible process that would only yield a higher degree of tolerance to the broader population at a much later date.

2.2 *Book market regulations*

Peter Nørvig, encountered at the start of this chapter, printed some of his books illegally, violating monopolies and privileges that were held by other printers and had been issued in order to control the market of print. Other strategies designed to regulate the market were also introduced throughout the early modern period, including the direct prohibition of the printing, import or sale of books deemed harmful. Church and government were also active as initiators and publishers of a wide assortment of edifying material ranging from religious literature to political tracts supportive of the government. Their evident approval of particular types of literature encouraged authors themselves to conduct a certain amount of self-censorship: by writing officially supported literature, an author was far more likely to see his or her manuscript end up in print.²² Censorship practices were also significant market regulating forces, although the personnel involved changed over the course of the period examined by this study. In the early phases, the theological faculty at Copenhagen was prominent, but a broader range of individuals and institutions would subsequently become part of the process—in Copenhagen, for instance, university professors, magistrates and the police all took part in the business of censorship. In terms of punishment, measures ranging from the confiscation of property to the pillory and exile were used against persons writing, printing or selling restricted material.

²² Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2001), 370.

The various methods intended to control the print market were not static, but rather changed in focus and intensity throughout the early modern period. In the first post-Reformation church ordinance (1537/39), specific works such as the Bible and books written by Luther and Melancthon were considered 'useful'. Books other than these, whether printed at home or abroad, were only to be released onto the market after they had been carefully examined by Lutheran superintendents.²³ In order to ensure that the correct form of Lutheranism was disseminated, it was also determined that no book written in Danish, Latin or German should be imported or published within the borders of the twin monarchy unless it had been approved by the university or a local bishop. Censorship was reaffirmed in royal letters of 1552, 1562 and 1576 concerning all print material.²⁴ This combination of the prohibition of the import of certain books and open support for the printing of desirable literature bolstered the distribution of books that would promote religious conformity.

In the period between 1600 and 1660, the first half of the orthodox era, particular emphasis was put on improving the reading ability of the general population, with the intention of increasing knowledge of fundamental Lutheran doctrine. As reading ability expanded, however, censorship strategies became even more important, leading to new regulation of the book trade. The Norwegian Church Ordinance of 1607, for instance, required all manuscripts to be censored by the local bishop before being sent off to Copenhagen,²⁵ and in 1617, the prohibition on the import or sale of books that did not conform to Lutheran teachings was renewed.²⁶ As the reading of poems, ballads, fables, romances and chivalric stories of medieval origin was regarded as harmful to ordinary people,²⁷ a prohibition on the sale of corrupting short stories from book stores attached to churches was passed in 1638.

²³ Gilje and Rasmussen, *Tankeliv i den lutherske stat*, 49.

²⁴ Øystein Rian, "Sensuren i Danmark-Norge 1536–1814," in *Demokratisk teori og historisk praksis*, ed. Hilde Sandvik (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2010), 127. In 1562, for instance, the import of books written in Danish but published abroad was made absolutely illegal; if they did not contain the right type of religion, these books could allegedly create sectarian turmoil and corrupt the Danish language; see Aleks Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1974), 26. In 1592, this prohibition was renewed; see Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 383–385.

²⁵ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 416.

²⁶ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 34.

²⁷ Henrik Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie. Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1999), 29.

However, as this trade was difficult to curb, *all* selling of books from churches was made illegal in 1658.²⁸ Similarly, almanacs containing predictions (often called *prognostica*) were prohibited in 1633,²⁹ for to try to foretell the actions of an inscrutable God was considered blasphemous.

During the period of absolutism, 1660–1700, new censorship decrees further standardised the print market and a wide range of privileges were granted. In the decree of 1667, the obligatory censoring of all manuscripts before their appearance in print was reaffirmed, and in 1672, the prohibition of the import of books written in Danish but printed abroad was likewise renewed; this time, however, the prohibition was extended to encompass books written in German but not in line with the Augsburg Confession. Repeated resolutions sought to ban all non-Lutheran, and particularly Calvinist, inspirational literature from Danish-Norwegian soil: in 1681, for instance, printers were again urged to ensure that *all* literature had passed through censorship procedures before its appearance on the market.³⁰

In the 1680s large law codes put further constraints on the market for printed works. Christian V's Danish Law of 1683 provided a framework for the organisation of both theological and political censorship—the principal (religious) supervision was to be carried out by professors, while writings on the king, government and official administration were to be approved by other appropriate individuals or institutions appointed by the king.³¹ The subsequent Norwegian Law of 1687 included a range of both older and novel decrees regulating the printed word.³² Particular to this period was also the government's use of the press as a means to legitimise its own rule as the category of desirable print expanded to include more specifically works that were supportive of those in power. Robert Molesworth's *Account of Denmark, as it was in the Year 1692* was regarded as unflattering of Christian V and an attack on absolutism, and the authorities therefore sought to prohibit its publication—although their actions only made Molesworth's work even more popular.³³ In keeping with such policies, expressions

²⁸ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 5.

²⁹ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 925.

³⁰ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 434.

³¹ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 48.

³² Rian, "Sensuren i Danmark-Norge," 128.

³³ Helge Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab 1000–1730* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2005), 191, 289.

of discontent with those in charge were to be silenced by harsh means. According to the Norwegian Law of 1687 books dishonouring the king should be burned in public, and their authors tortured and executed.³⁴ Other types of writing were also condemned, including satirical writings directed against official religion or certain members of the clergy. When confiscated, such works were to be given to the head of police in Copenhagen before being handed over to the hangman.³⁵

During years that have been termed the Pietist era, in the first half of the eighteenth century, censorship restrictions prevailed. Apprehensions about heresy, Lutheran as well as non-Lutheran, fostered further legislation. In 1718 all printers and booksellers were again ordered not to allow the publication of any work until it had passed through censorship procedures. Further censorship decrees were also passed in the 1730s, and in 1740 earlier printing and import restrictions were reaffirmed.³⁶ Additional support for the processes of censorship was also created. 1737 saw the establishment of the *General-Kirke-Inspektionskollegium*, an organisation strongly supportive of the Pietist cause. One of the main tasks of the *kollegium* was to supervise those involved in the censorship business, a development that made censorship more effective.³⁷

The Pietist government's concern for the religious education of the masses also affected the distribution of books. During the Pietist era and with governmental support, various institutions promoted the dissemination of desirable books. In the period 1715 to 1721 the missionary society of Denmark and Norway distributed about 15,500 Bibles and New Testaments, 7,500 hymn books, 1,350 copies of the Augsburg Confession and 3,500 ABCs among the general population.³⁸ The politics of the book market also strongly favoured the distribution of approved religious literature. The general prohibition on book piracy passed in 1741, for example, did not encompass common religious books such as psalters, catechisms and ABCs, works that could therefore be reprinted time and time again.³⁹

In the eyes of fervent Pietists specific types of print appeared especially harmful. Various forms of amusement were deemed corrupting

³⁴ Rian, "Sensuren i Danmark-Norge," 130.

³⁵ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 436.

³⁶ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 168.

³⁷ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 79.

³⁸ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 83.

³⁹ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 774–775.

of the general population and for this reason, the sale of songs on the streets became illegal.⁴⁰ During the most stringent years, the Pietist dislike of entertainment created particular hostility towards theatrical plays. An attack was also launched on short stories, decried by the theologian Erik Pontoppidan as “obscurity in written form.”⁴¹ Sale of corrupting short stories to as well as in the northern Norwegian regions was specifically prohibited in 1726.⁴² In line with the religious climate, the more spiritualist or mystical forms of Christianity were also seen as threatening, grounds for the 1723 prohibition of the catechism by Quaker Robert Barclay (d. 1690). The ongoing attempt to combat non-Lutheran heresies also had repercussions for what could be printed. The Danish translation of *Nosce te ipsum* (The Mystery of Self-deceiving) by Presbyterian Daniel Dyke (d. 1616) was stripped of any mention of predestination before it appeared on the open market in 1706.⁴³

In the later eighteenth century, the Enlightenment era, censorship practices declined in favour of greater openness, although a sharp eye was still fixed on works that dealt with governmental issues and religion.⁴⁴ 1770 saw a remarkable volte face when the press was made entirely free, a result of the coup d'état by Struensee (d. 1772). The end to censorship did not last, however, and restrictions were again placed on the printed word, as by decrees issued in 1771 and 1773.⁴⁵ After 1773, the extent of press freedom fluctuated, and legislation in 1799 aimed to restore firmer control of the print market by means of a range of clearly specified strategies: all forms of anonymity were, for example, made illegal, as were writings that expressed discontent with the constitution or the government. Attacks on generally accepted ideas about God and the immortality of the soul were also outlawed.⁴⁶

Censorship was reintroduced in 1799, but procedures had been altered somewhat. A copy of the printed manuscript had to be

⁴⁰ See for instance Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 89.

⁴¹ Jostein Fet, *Lesande bønder. Litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995), 244.

⁴² Wilhelm Munthe, *Boknåm. Essays for bokvenner* (Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1943), 122.

⁴³ H. F. Rørdam, “Om kjendskapet til engelsk theologisk litteratur i ældre tid,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 5/2 (1903): 368.

⁴⁴ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 79.

⁴⁵ Rian, “Sensuren i Danmark-Norge,” 145.

⁴⁶ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 120.

submitted to a police inspector for endorsement, and if approved, the work could be distributed. However, if the police inspector discovered irregularities in the text, all copies would be confiscated. Similarly, an author who had already faced legal problems would ideally also have all his future works pre-censured. Booksellers could be punished for selling a publication that lacked the name of the author, the translator or the publishing company.⁴⁷ In the wake of the 1799 decree, the various censoring authorities were kept busy. Authors such as P. A. Heiberg (d. 1841) and Malthe Conrad Bruun (d. 1826) were exiled; the former for criticising the government too openly and the latter for supporting liberty, including the freedom of the press, too strongly. Other works regarded with suspicion during the period of Enlightenment included novels, which competed with short stories as material for entertainment in the latter stages of the early modern period (see chapter 9) and were blamed for causing fantasies, mental or emotional instability, and civil disobedience,⁴⁸ and deemed corrupting or merely a waste of time.⁴⁹ It was most likely for these reasons that in 1776 the Theological Faculty forbade C. G. Proft to issue a Danish translation of Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther*,⁵⁰ a book that was thought to arouse strong emotions in readers.

Newspapers, introduced to the broader Danish-Norwegian public during the course of the seventeenth century, were also regulated. As literary forums, newspapers could be used to spread information about both national and international events. In 1634 Joachim Moltke and Melchior Marzan were granted the first monopoly for the printing and selling of news literature in Danish and German. During the period of absolutism in particular, newspapers were used by the government as a means of legitimising its own rule: Anders Bording's *Danske mercurius*, first published in 1666, devoted much space to propaganda in support of the king.⁵¹ The presentation in news media of incidents

⁴⁷ Lis Byberg, "Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde. Bokauksjonen i den norske litterære offentlighet 1750–1815" (Dr. Art. diss., University of Oslo, 2007), 85–86.

⁴⁸ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 111–112.

⁴⁹ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 112.

⁵⁰ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 120.

⁵¹ Bording's paper has been characterised as an apology for the absolutist government; see Paul Ries, "The Politics of Information in Seventeenth-Century Scandinavia," in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. B. Dooley and S. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), 258.

relevant to the royal family was also specifically addressed in the censorship decrees of 1701, in which guidelines were established.⁵²

Regulation of the newspaper trade was not carried out by the issuing of privileges alone. Censorship was also significant and was initially the responsibility of a civil servant in the *Danish Kanselli*, the contemporary foreign ministry. One of his main tasks was to prevent the publication of criticism of foreign monarchs.⁵³ The workload soon required a second appointment.⁵⁴ Although reading a newspaper could be deemed a useful occupation, a more negative aspect of this new medium was also identified. The seventeenth-century German theologian Johann Hartmann claimed it was sinful to read newspapers, for the reader thereby spent his (or her) time reading about matters that did not concern him personally.⁵⁵ Several of Hartmann's books appear in the personal libraries of Norwegian clergy.⁵⁶

Many of the censorship practices mentioned above targeted the dissemination of undesirable print material among the broader population.⁵⁷ We know less about how censorship operated in relation to learned, scholarly literature. In theory, all books distributed in Denmark-Norway had to conform to Lutheran teachings, and all books—Latin, Danish or German—for use in institutions of higher education could only be imported or printed if they had been checked or approved by the university authorities.⁵⁸ University dissertations as well as other scientific works had to be submitted to censorship procedures before they could appear in print. In practice the learned classes were hindered little in their purchase or importation of foreign scientific literature, as the various measures taken to control this trade indirectly attest. In 1740, for instance, a decree ordered all sales offices to provide the theological faculty with a list of the theological books they had purchased at the Leipzig fair. Only those works approved by the

⁵² Trygve Riiser Gundersen, "Pressen i kommunikasjonskretsløpet: Kongen i Christiania," in *En samfunnsmakt blir til 1660–1880*, ed. Martin Eide (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2010), 51.

⁵³ Bruhns, *Bibliografiens historie i Danmark, 1700- og 1800-tallet* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2004), 27.

⁵⁴ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 436.

⁵⁵ Ries, "The Politics of Information," 265.

⁵⁶ See statistics in Gina Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence: Private Libraries of Clerics and Physicians in Norway 1650–1750" (Dr. Art. diss., University of Bergen, 2007).

⁵⁷ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 84.

⁵⁸ Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab*, 104.

faculty could be made available in stores and sold to the general public; works of more harmful character could only be sold to the “learned with honest intentions,” or to people who were about to found libraries. The names of these customers were to be recorded, and those booksellers who violated the rules punished. These instructions were not necessarily followed.⁵⁹

Learned book collections were also left largely untouched by official control systems,⁶⁰ and in keeping with this non-interventionist approach, some of the leading scholars in the country were permitted to have their works printed without pre-censorship.⁶¹ One of the reasons for this laissez-faire mentality was the simple fact that non-Lutheran religious works were perceived as less threatening to those with certain intellectual capacities. It was probably on these grounds that in 1622 Salomon Sartor was prohibited from importing books on foreign religions unless a work had been ordered by learned individuals.⁶² The educated section of the population was in practice left to conduct its own personal censorship, or evaluation, of literature, which also means that censorship decrees did not necessarily affect the circulation of specialist literature, whether religious or non-religious.

It is also difficult to assess how efficient the censorship or regulatory strategies were in shaping the print market among ordinary people. Religious books, for instance, were not the only works circulating on the market of print. And although short stories were frequently criticised by various officials, their distribution was partly tolerated as they proved a viable source of income for printers. In 1721 Joachim Wielandt in Copenhagen was granted permission to print various short stories provided that the king’s name did not appear on the cover.⁶³ Yet many forms of print continued to circulate in high numbers despite official attempts to marginalise them by categorising them as undesirable. It was also impossible to supervise the production of ephemera particularly towards the end of early modern period when the number of printing houses had grown significantly. In addition, the censoring agencies worked with varying intensity throughout the period under examination here. Book market regulation was only partly able to

⁵⁹ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 79.

⁶⁰ Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab*, 116.

⁶¹ Byberg, “Brukte bøker,” 84.

⁶² Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 48.

⁶³ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 39–40.

contain the early modern print market, a market whose complexity grew at a rapid pace throughout the early modern period.

2.3 *Sales outlets*

The availability of books in Norway did not depend on market-regulating forces alone. The various channels of distribution also contributed to determining the nature and number of works available to the population of early modern Norway.

What, then, were these channels? Let us first consider the printers themselves. Their numbers meagre, local printers were only to a small degree responsible for shaping the Norwegian book market. As noted in the introduction, Norway was the last country in Scandinavia to be equipped with a printing house, that set up in Christiania in 1643. Bergen's first printing house was established almost eighty years later, in 1721; Trondheim's a century later, in 1739.⁶⁴ This delayed development was the result of a centralisation strategy that had an evident religious and political purpose—control of the market in order to ensure religious conformity.

As a result of this strategy, clear anomalies occurred in the printing business. Whereas only three printing houses were functioning in Norway at the end of the eighteenth century, as many as nine Danish towns were equipped with printing houses by the same date and twenty-one printing houses were operational in Copenhagen alone.⁶⁵ In terms of printing, Norway occupied a typically provincial position within the twin monarchy. The existence of the confessional axis Germany-Denmark-Norway also had repercussions for the printing business. Whereas most printers in Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Germans, printers in Norway were mostly Danes. Only in 1746 did the first Norwegian-born printer set up office in Christiania.⁶⁶ And only after 1814 did the number of Norwegian printing houses radically increase: from four in 1805—in Christiania, Kristiansand, Bergen and Trondheim—to fifty-three across thirty localities by 1849.⁶⁷ Given the scarcity of printing houses, books printed

⁶⁴ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 45–46.

⁶⁵ Sten G. Lindberg, "The Scandinavian Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century," *Wolfenbüttler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* 4 (1981): 228.

⁶⁶ Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere*, 47.

⁶⁷ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 182.

in early modern Norway occupied only a small percentage of the total market. Even as late as 1800, the religious books printed in Norway only represented 21 per cent of the total number of Danish-Norwegian religious works.⁶⁸ As a result, book distribution relied heavily on imports, and the main centre of this trade was in Denmark.

Three other groupings, in addition to the printers themselves, played significant roles in the distribution of books. First, there were the bookbinders, who in general also sold books. Second, there were the independent sales offices which purchased books from printers or binders, local or foreign, for resale. Third, there were the itinerant salesmen and a range of more or less stationary booksellers; this grouping contained both agents sent from sales offices (attached either to a printing house or a book-binding office) and independent individuals seeking personal profit. Taken together, these three groups made a more significant contribution to providing the early modern population with books than did that scant number of printers.

Long before the establishment of local printing houses, itinerant salesmen had played an important role in book distribution. Bergen, for instance, Norway's largest town, was visited by several salesmen from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, many of whom were Danes and Germans sent out by printing houses. Whereas some of these salesmen also made their way beyond the town to provide more peripheral districts with books, others established close contact with stationary local sales offices to which they sold their books. Some travelling salesmen would also establish their own outlets as agents for primarily Danish and German sales offices or printing houses, and as a result of their connections abroad, they were able to offer a relatively wide range of print to the Norwegian population. Various Copenhagen booksellers were of particular importance to providing the population with books from beyond the borders of the twin monarchy; agents were sent from Copenhagen to book fairs such as those in held in Frankfurt and Leipzig. Here, foreign books were acquired, primarily through the well-established system of exchange, books that might eventually be sent to the northern parts of the dual monarchy.

Bookbinders who purchased either bound or unbound books for resale from printers at home or abroad operated in Norway from a very early date. The city of Trondheim, for instance, was reportedly

⁶⁸ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 47.

equipped with a bookbinder as early as 1533.⁶⁹ Although we cannot give a precise figure for the number of bookbinders, there were certainly more bookbinders in Norway than printing houses. Throughout the eighteenth century bookbinders operated in twelve towns and were at least six times more numerous than printers. Most of these bookbinders, however, were stationed along the southern coast of Norway.⁷⁰ Regional variation was also typical: a combination of booksellers and binders operated in Christiania, whereas in Bergen, bookbinders dominated the scene.⁷¹

Because of regular disputes between printing houses, bookbinders and independent bookshops, legislation was passed in 1685 in order to regulate the book trade. Booksellers became the main sales agents for books, although printers and binders were allowed to sell books under certain conditions: printers could sell their own books to the public, to a bookbinder, or to the various sales offices, provided they were unbound; similarly, bookbinders were allowed to purchase books from printers in order to bind and sell them.⁷² The intent behind this 1685 legislation, however, was not necessarily felt in practice; one reason for this limitation was that the groups mentioned above had to compete with a type of bookseller not touched by the 1685 legislation, namely, the more or less stationary agents who drew income away from other book selling groups. Their number increased significantly during the early modern period, partly as a result of the 1686 decree abolishing all book trade monopolies in Norway.⁷³ The number of such loose agents was limited only by the requirement for legal citizenship in order to settle down.⁷⁴ Other agents also diverted income from the more organised elements of the book trade. Men, women and adolescents of both sexes, all without any attachment to sales offices, would also sometimes pick up books—at auctions or sales outlets, for example—that they would then sell on to the town's population or in the more rural districts. Students, schoolmasters and parish clerks would also occasionally act as booksellers.

With their balance sheet in mind, the more regulated parts of the book trade continued to violate the decree of 1685. Binders continued

⁶⁹ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 8–9.

⁷⁰ Lindberg, "The Scandinavian Book Trade," 229.

⁷¹ Lindberg, "The Scandinavian Book Trade," 117–118.

⁷² Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 59–60.

⁷³ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 61–64.

⁷⁴ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 66.

to sell books that had not been purchased through printers; printers continued to sell both bound and unbound books, and not only those from their own stock. The printers' business was also affected by the various privileges granted by the government to specific printing offices. Whereas printers who had obtained privileges would be assured a certain income, other printers could struggle to make money. All kinds of shady business practices were at times employed by printers in order to survive in a highly unstable market, although subscriptions, which became more common during the course of the eighteenth century, would relieve some of their distress. The lack of privileges, for instance, led Peder Nørvig, the above mentioned Bergen printer, to issue religious books illegally. In order to survive in the market, Nørvig also engaged in other types of book sales. In March 1722, for instance, he held an auction of learned books, many of which were in Latin. As many of these books dated from the late sixteenth century, it is likely that they had been picked up by Nørvig on the second-hand market with his explicit intention of selling them on.⁷⁵

How, then, might the early modern population acquire books? A distinction must be made between urban and rural locations. If their financial situation allowed, people living in major towns could purchase printed material through all of the channels mentioned above. People living in rural parts of Norway, however, depended more heavily on itinerant salesmen. Whereas some of these salesmen could be Danes, Germans or Norwegians sent from larger sales offices or printing houses, others were the less well-organised travellers mentioned above. Some of these itinerant sellers could be town residents temporarily moving through the countryside; others were rural inhabitants picking up books for resale in their nearest town or within their own local community.⁷⁶ Fairs where books were provided by bookshops and their journeymen were also held in rural districts, the most major at Romsdalen and Levanger. At market time, agents were sent out from urban sales offices with books and rural inhabitants could also order books directly from booksellers or printing houses.⁷⁷ Books could also shift owners in ways not necessarily linked to profit, passed on from

⁷⁵ See Bergen stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, auction protocol number 11 (1721–1724), folio 161–166.

⁷⁶ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 86.

⁷⁷ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 51–52.

generation to generation as heirlooms or given as gifts; such forms of book acquisition were evident amongst all sections of society.

Members of the learned classes, wherever they resided, would have purchasing power that the general population did not share. They often had more extensive language skills, additional networks of communication and, last but not least, superior economic means. The learned classes also craved books other than those circulating among the general population, which required that they look abroad, even beyond Copenhagen. Few specialist books were printed within the borders of the dual monarchy: in order to make money, most Danish-Norwegian printing houses and sales offices published and/or sold books that targeted the widest possible range of readers, namely, common religious books. These bestsellers remained staple sales items until at least the mid-eighteenth century,⁷⁸ and only from the late seventeenth century onwards did a broader range of books on popular science written in the vernacular appear the market. Many of these books had a mainly practical purpose, such as medicine, whereas others covered topics such as history and topography.⁷⁹ Books printed within the twin monarchy in German or Latin were primarily intended for exchange at the fairs held in Frankfurt and Leipzig.⁸⁰ Much of the learned literature circulating in early modern Norway was printed in specific European houses that had found a market niche by specialising in certain types of academic book; even Danish-Norwegian academics would sometimes have their manuscripts printed by such businesses abroad. Specialist literature circulating among the learned sections of the Norwegian population was therefore often imported from beyond Scandinavia, at least until the end of the early modern period.⁸¹

This specialist literature could reach the learned classes by a number of routes. First, foreign booksellers, peddlers, or stationary sellers acted as agents for the sale of such works, which often originated in Copenhagen or in other European, but primarily German, towns. Second, regular stores could also act as intermediaries in this type of trade. Because of the demand from the educated sections of society for learned literature, foreigners were also occasionally given the right to

⁷⁸ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 74, 90, 92.

⁷⁹ Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab*, 201–202.

⁸⁰ Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 85.

⁸¹ Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab*, 196.

establish sales offices: in 1622, for instance, the German Friedrich Richter was permitted to establish a sales outlet in Bergen for specialised books in all languages.⁸² Learned consumers might return home with books purchased during travels abroad; many of them were in direct contact with booksellers abroad, from whom they ordered books that would be shipped to them or sent by post:⁸³ books ordered from Copenhagen were generally sent by ship in the summer and by post in the winter. Orders could also be sent via friends or merchants travelling to Copenhagen,⁸⁴ and similar requests would also sometimes be sent along with travellers or sailors who took part in the lively trade between Norway and other parts of Europe—of the 614 ships that departed from Bergen in 1780, 277 were Danish, 187 were Norwegian, seventy-three were British and twenty-six were Dutch. Correspondence, both national and international, was of prime importance in keeping the more educated informed about literary trends;⁸⁵ so too were printed book catalogues and bibliographies, which became increasingly numerous.

The book market continued to evolve in the late eighteenth century. Readership grew, and this expanded consumer group looked for works that were not of purely religious content.⁸⁶ These developments were linked to growing literacy and to the improved economic situation of a broad layer of the population (cf. Chapter 8). At this time, the number of books issued on Danish-Norwegian soil grew significantly, an escalation nurtured by two features in particular. First, censorship was relaxed, particularly during the ‘reign’ of Struensee, a time when writers could have their manuscripts published anonymously.⁸⁷ This openness led to a doubling in the volume of printed material issued, much of it with content that would formerly have been deemed undesirable.⁸⁸ Second, the number of books printed in Copenhagen increased sharply. Following a period of stagnation from 1761 to 1771, the number of printers grew markedly between 1785 and 1797 and reached a peak in 1808 when a total of twenty-two printing houses were operating. The volume of books imported through Copenhagen

⁸² Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 22.

⁸³ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 33.

⁸⁴ Byberg, “Brukte bøker,” 78–79.

⁸⁵ Byberg, “Brukte bøker,” 99–100.

⁸⁶ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 114.

⁸⁷ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 108–109.

⁸⁸ Bruhns, *Bibliografiens historie*, 133–134.

also remained large, with Germany the main source of this trade. In 1759, the theologian Erik Pontoppidan valued this Danish-German trade to amount to as much as 30,000 *riksdaler*.⁸⁹

As the number of books reaching Norwegian shores rose, the number of regular sales offices and bookbinders grew commensurately. The number of Copenhagen agents operating within the Norwegian market increased significantly from the mid-eighteenth century onwards; the large majority of these men settled in larger towns such as Christiania, Bergen and Trondheim.⁹⁰ Still, these channels alone were unable to meet the growing demand from the masses, and private agents such as clerics, officers and students also participated more actively in the bookselling business. For some of those involved, the attraction was to be found in the additional income, but others also felt it their responsibility, in line with the *Zeitgeist* of the Enlightenment, to provide the general population with so-called 'useful' books.⁹¹ Various organisations—patriotic societies, for example—were involved in the eighteenth-century book trade, their purpose likewise the enlightening of the masses. The scale of the late eighteenth-century book trade eroded even further various attempts to distribute, and regulate, the market among printers, binders and sales offices.⁹²

During this period, individuals were increasingly likely to acquire abroad the books that they sought, most commonly from sales offices in Germany. Non-Scandinavian booksellers operating in Norway also, however, appear to have remained significant participants in the book market. In the late 1770s, for instance, the Möller Company from Hamburg arrived in Bergen with a large and varied book stock, and its visits, most of which took place in August or September, continued for several years. The German bookseller I. H. Kaven also sold books on a regular basis in Bergen during the 1780s.⁹³ Changes in taste in books during the Enlightenment were also reflected by the book-selling business. Interest in French literature, for instance, resulted in the establishment of Claude Philbert's bookshop, the largest bookshop in Copenhagen in the third quarter of the

⁸⁹ Harald Ilsoe, *Bogtrykkerne i København ca 1600–1810* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek- Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 1992), 225–238.

⁹⁰ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 46.

⁹¹ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 142–143; Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 114.

⁹² Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 113–114.

⁹³ Anthon Mohr Wiesener, *Bidrag til bokhandelens historie* (Bergen: F. Beyers boktrykkeri, 1919), 28–29.

eighteenth century.⁹⁴ It has been suggested that of the various Norwegian towns, Trondheim possessed the most prosperous book market during the eighteenth century.⁹⁵

During the eighteenth century book selling was bolstered by a number of factors, one of which was more extensive marketing. Printers had always been able to issue their own book advertisements. With the rise of newspapers, other sales agents could also benefit from the distribution of advertising about their wares. Although several Danish newspapers and periodicals had circulated in early modern Norway, the first Norwegian newspapers appeared only in the mid-eighteenth century, all of them published by advertising offices. In Norway, the Christiania printer Samuel Conrad Schwach was the first person to establish an advertising office, and his newspaper, the *Norske Intelligenz-Seddler*, was issued in 1763. Advertising offices followed in Bergen (1764), Trondheim (1767) and Kristiansand (1769). The newspapers published by these establishments contained advertisements placed by printers, sales offices, agents and more loosely organised booksellers, both Danish and more broadly European. These newspapers also contained advertisements for a large number of books. Andreas Diurendahl, a well-established bookseller in Christiania, placed so many advertisements that from the 1780s on these announcements were sent out as a free supplement to the *Norske Intelligenz-Seddler*.⁹⁶ Advertising offices also sold their own books either by advertising in the newspaper or by means of notices in their offices; they would also arrange book auctions and lend out books. Other sales agents could also advertise their books by posting an announcement in the office. A common characteristic of the books offered at these eighteenth-century advertising offices was their rationalist character; most works had practical-educational content dealing with, for example, agriculture or the maintenance of domestic animals.⁹⁷

Potential buyers were also able to inform themselves about new literary trends by other means. Various periodicals printed book reviews. The first five volumes of the first Norwegian journal, *Trondhiemske Samlinger* issued by Peter Suhm in 1761, reviewed 883 works which

⁹⁴ Lindberg, "The Scandinavian Book Trade," 239.

⁹⁵ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 102.

⁹⁶ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 121–129.

⁹⁷ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 124–125.

were published in ten different languages.⁹⁸ Periodicals such as *Minerva* and *Kritisk Journal* included book reviews, a contribution to this period's fashion for criticism.

Literary trends and information about books in circulation could also be gleaned from sales catalogues and, in particular, from auction catalogues. The auction system, inspired by the Dutch model, had been established in Copenhagen as early as 1661 and soon spread to the Danish-Norwegian provinces. Regulated by legislation in 1693,⁹⁹ all auctions were to be announced by printed or hand-written posters, and at least in the provinces, the distribution of posters was to be supported by oral advertising accompanied by a drummer. With the rise of the periodical press, newspapers also became efficient channels for advertising these upcoming events.¹⁰⁰ In Norway, auction catalogues seem to have constituted a particularly important source for information about books circulating on the market. The 145 auction catalogues that have been preserved from the period 1750–1815 list about 138,000 titles,¹⁰¹ a large number, not least given the size of the contemporary Norwegian population, and symptomatic of the large number of books available in Enlightenment Norway. Many of these works, around 90,000, were *octavo* or smaller, and many can be placed in the 'enlightened' category; the books included a high percentage of works that dealt with practical subjects such as agriculture, the breeding of animals, and accountancy, and they were intended for a wide range of readers (cf. Chapter 8).¹⁰²

The Danish-Norwegian government made use of a range of strategies in order to regulate the early modern market for print. Censorship, import restrictions and the granting of privileges were used as means to ensure religious and political unity. The people working within different parts of the bookselling business were also regulated. These measures tended to shift throughout the early modern period in line with the religious-political climate of the day and created very specific patterns of book distribution among all sections of society.

⁹⁸ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 106.

⁹⁹ Harald Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salgs. Om danske bogauktioner og kataloger 1661–1811* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek- Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2007), 9–10.

¹⁰⁰ Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salgs*, 15–17.

¹⁰¹ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 185, 219.

¹⁰² Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 289–290.

Nevertheless, such regulatory strategies were only partly able to contain the market of print, with the result that a wide range of books of both desirable and undesirable content found their way to Norwegian shores. The character of Norwegian book distribution is symptomatic of the vastness of the early modern marketplace of ideas, a vastness to which the remaining chapters of this book will bear witness.

CHAPTER THREE

BOOKS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

3.1 *Schooling and reading*

In the mid-seventeenth century, Knut Sevaldesen Bang, the parson of the eastern district of Toten, donated one exemplar of his *Catechism* and a psalter to every self-sufficient peasant in his parish.¹ Why did he do this? The most likely answer is that he wanted his parishioners to have direct access to the Word of God. According to Robert Darnton, reading the Word of God remained a spiritual activity throughout the early modern period, a means not only to access the true Christian message but also to unlock the holy mysteries.² Reading the right sort of books was important to salvation, and one of the reasons why the Danish-Norwegian post-Reformation government sought to make such books available on the market (cf. Chapter 2).

Books, however, were of no use if people could not read them. And who was able to read in early modern Norway? During the last decades, literacy in Scandinavia has been widely discussed. According to Loftur Guttormsen and Ingrid Markussen in studies published in 1990, early modern Scandinavians would have scored well on reading ability, whereas the ability to write was much less widespread.³ Of the Scandinavian countries, Sweden appears to have achieved the highest reading rates: by the end of the seventeenth century, half of the Swedish population was able to read.⁴ Later studies, such as those by Charlotte Appel and Henrik Horstbøll, indicate that reading ability in Denmark was similar to that in Sweden.⁵ Appel's study, based on books listed in

¹ A. W. Heffermehl, *Folkeundervisningen i Norge indtil omkring aar 1700* (Christiania: Grøndahl, 1913), 123, 184.

² Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 172–173.

³ See Loftur Guttormsen, "The Development of Popular Religious Literacy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of History* 15 (1990): 7–36, and Ingrid Markussen, "The Development of Writing Ability in the Nordic Countries in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of History* 15 (1990): 37–64.

⁴ Egil Johansson, *The History of Literacy in Sweden in Comparison with Some Other Countries*, vol. 12 of Educational Reports Umeå (Umeå: Umeå University and Umeå School of Education, 1977), 64.

⁵ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*.

inventories and on clerical registers that record parishioners' reading abilities, indicates relatively high reading skills even among the late seventeenth-century population. Horstbøll's study of chapbooks available on the early modern book market supports this claim on the basis that books of this type would not have been released onto the market in such high number unless people were able to read.⁶ Hence, although it is difficult to determine precisely what the ability to read might imply—would the reader of a religious text, for instance, also be able to read a non-religious text?—it would seem that at least basic reading skills were relatively widespread in Denmark at the end of the seventeenth century.

Later studies of literacy suggest that the ability to read was also widespread in early modern Norway, much due to the twin monarchy's focus on schooling. This policy was closely tied to Luther's concern that the common man be acquainted with the Word of God, a relationship that was now becoming literary rather than visual. In Denmark-Norway, legislation intended to develop the reading skills of the broader population was passed from the Reformation onwards. The Church Ordinances of 1537/39, 1607 and 1629, for instance, all stressed the importance of giving children a Christian upbringing, the ordinance of 1537/39 in particular stating that the Lutheran core message should be known by peasants' children as well as by "noble men, kings and emperors."⁷ In order to achieve such a goal, various obligations were placed on the private sphere: parents, and particularly fathers, would ideally instruct children, or the broader household, in the basic tenets of the Lutheran faith, and as a result singing, prayer and reading the catechism evolved into practices which persisted for centuries among various cross-sections of the population. Even Christian V's Norwegian Law of 1687 stressed the obligation of parents, together with schools and parish clerks, to teach their children basic Lutheran beliefs.⁸

⁶ Horstbøll's study resembles that of Spufford, who sees the high number of chapbooks on the seventeenth-century English book market as indirect proof of widespread reading ability and asserts that "historians of literacy were probably being far too conservative in their estimates of the spread of reading ability." See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), xviii.

⁷ Heffermehl, *Folkeundervisningen i Norge*, 47.

⁸ Johannes Helgheim, *Allmugeskolen paa bygdene* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1980), 21.

The various church ordinances also stressed the importance of formal schooling for the new generations of Lutherans, as some sort of elementary education was required in order for parents to be able to pass on to their children knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Creed. Appointed as the *primus motor* of this educational scheme was the parish clerk, who came to be responsible for teaching the Lutheran creed in rural local administrative centres. In the earlier phases of the Reformation, such instruction was to take place every Sunday, and in order to ensure a certain level of knowledge among this section of the clergy, the ordinance of 1607 required that in Norway a *diaconus* should be tested in his understanding of the catechism prior to employment. Ideally, the *diaconus* should also be able to sing in Norwegian and, ideally also Latin. He was not, however, required to have been educated at a Latin school.⁹ In towns, the task of teaching children basic Lutheran doctrine was the responsibility of Latin school teachers.¹⁰ The manual often used was the translation of Luther's Small Catechism by Peder Palladius, bishop of Zealand (d. 1560) who completed a shorter version in 1537 and a full translation in 1538.

The constant emphasis on education throughout the seventeenth century, mainly for religious purposes, resulted in the establishment of new institutions of learning. Latin schools of medieval ancestry continued to provide access to post-elementary education, but new elementary educational institutions such as the Danish schools and children's homes were created in major towns. Schools were also founded in rural districts, although here clergy remained the most active participants in the broader education of the laity. Itinerant teachers were also sometimes used as instructors by the general population, and some came from the ranks of the clergy. These teachers often lodged in private homes where they instructed the children of the area.

In 1739, during the Pietist era, a school reform programme was launched proclaiming that every part of the population should have access to proper schools. In practice, the reform of 1739 was a follow-up to the law of 1736 that had made confirmation obligatory. One of

⁹ Heffermehl, *Folkeundervisningen i Norge*, 90.

¹⁰ Odd Asbjørn Mediås, *Enhetsskolens utvikling i Danmark og Norge. Allmueskolen/ folkeskolen/ grunnskolen i utvikling fra de første skolelover og fram til år 2003* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2004), 26.

the aims in 1739 was to ensure that people could read silently, and not only aloud, and that they were able to make their own sense of religious texts. The school reform of 1739 was therefore fervently supported by the Pietists, whose renewed emphasis on instilling right Christian beliefs in the broader population has been referred to as a 'Second Reformation'. Of specific relevance to this keen focus on learning was Spener's stress on the accessibility of the Bible and textual studies, as well as Francke's support for the establishment of children's homes, schools for the poor and missionary activities.¹¹ Symptomatic of this trend was the Norwegian coalition of parsons called 'the star of seven' (cf. 2.1); this group worked to promote church reform, mission, higher education and stronger church discipline, as well as a more pervasive dissemination of edifying books.¹² During the reign of Christian VI (1730–1746), Pietism was enacted as a governmental programme, which had repercussions on several levels. A first, but short-lived, missionary *collegium*, for instance, had been established as early as 1714, and subsequently, missionaries had been sent to both Greenland and the northernmost parts of Norway. The officially supported school reform of 1739 should thus be seen as another step in longer-term attempts firmly to mould the masses into adherents of Lutheranism.

Further legislation followed the school reform of 1739. The decree of 1741 maintained that children should be able to read and understand the content of Luther's Small Catechism and its explanations. According to this decree, every school should also possess a Bible and a Postil. Ideally children would be provided with books by their own household, but those from less prosperous homes were to receive books for free from the local parson. Probably directly linked to this reform, it was decided in 1742 that 4,500 copies of Pontoppidan's *Catechism* should be distributed every third year to all parish schools (not town schools) in Denmark-Norway.¹³ Nevertheless, writing was not incorporated as an obligatory element of the schools' curriculum, probably because the decrees passed in the wake of the 1739 reform had a primarily religious purpose. According to this reform, writing was only to be taught if requested by parents; instruction in writing became obligatory on a broader basis only in 1827, and in towns in 1848.

¹¹ Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 145–146.

¹² Oftestad, Rasmussen and Schumacher, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 149.

¹³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 24–34.

In practice, however, the art of writing was often taught at a much earlier date in various locations within the twin monarchy.¹⁴

The aims of the 1739 reform were grandiose, but economic shortcomings constrained its realisation. For financial reasons, the northernmost regions of Finnmark and Nordland were, for example, unable to provide schooling for all. As late as 1775, Bishop Markus Frederik Bang complained after a *visitas* to these regions that a broad-scale, organised educational presence was still lacking.¹⁵ And, although school buildings were erected in Norway during the course of the eighteenth century, these were not numerous enough to house all children. As a result, the use of travelling teachers and the clergy to educate the broader masses continued, which meant that different systems of learning continued to be responsible for providing the general population with reading skills throughout the early modern period.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a number of schools that did not have religious education as their primary focus were established in Norway. These new educational institutions' concern for the natural sciences corresponded with the contemporary mercantile and utilitarian emphasis on the importance of practical skills. Such developments were typical of the important period of reform between 1784 and 1797, when a humanising of the legal system and liberalisation of trade were targeted.¹⁶ These new schools tended to concentrate on topics neglected by the Latin-school curriculum, such as modern languages and mathematics. In 1750 *Den frie mathematiske skole* was established to educate engineers, and in 1757 the *Bergseminar* to educate miners. Schools offering curricula geared towards the natural sciences were established in various Norwegian cities. The school in Trondheim opened its doors to the public in 1783, although in practice it was only accessible to members of the upper middle class.¹⁷ Similar institutions offering a more varied and practically oriented curricula were established in Kristiansund in 1795 and in Kongsberg in 1797.¹⁸ In light of these developments, it is evident that the education of the early modern population passed from being a matter for the Church in which instructional obligations were also put on parents, to being a more overtly public system of officially established schools.¹⁹

¹⁴ Sogner, *Krig og fred*, 298.

¹⁵ Sogner, *Krig og fred*, 296–297.

¹⁶ Mediås, *Enhetsskolens utvikling*, 61.

¹⁷ Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere*, 87.

¹⁸ Mediås, *Enhetsskolens utvikling*, 66.

¹⁹ Helgheim, *Allmugeskolen paa bygdene*, 59.

Given this elaboration of the Norwegian school system, who, then, could read, and perhaps also write? Writing ability was rated much lower than the ability to read and received rather scant attention in the various educational decrees. Yet in his wide-ranging examination of early modern popular writing, *Skrivande bønder* (Writing Peasants), Jostein Fet suggests that writing skills were more developed than one might expect, and that forms of writing were closely linked to broader European currents in terms of styles of expression. The writing of family chronicles, for instance, developed in the period 1750–1780.²⁰

The first explicit and wide-scale attestations of the reading ability of the general population occur in the eighteenth century and in general give a rather positive view. A register of parishioners (a ‘soul register’) made in the rural district of Haram in the northern part of western Norway in 1756 praises the population’s reading skills.²¹ Here the household registrations made by the local parson, whose aim was to test the inhabitants’ general knowledge of the Lutheran faith, concluded that 56.1 per cent of the persons aged seven or more could read well, 34.5 per cent could read sufficiently, 6.7 per cent poorly, and 2.3 per cent not at all; 0.6 per cent of those examined reportedly had excellent reading skills. Similarly, there were no great differences among peasants, servants and the various other parts of the rural population in terms of the reading skills of each grouping, although servants displayed slightly inferior reading skills.²²

Records from other parts of the country repeat this positive assessment. In 1743 the parson of Elverum, Morten Leigh, stated that the ability to read was common among the district’s peasants, and that several peasants could also write and carry out basic mathematical calculations.²³ Similarly, a survey of the reading abilities of around 1,370 young people in the parish of Vang in eastern Norway between 1732 and 1742 concluded that only 6 per cent had limited reading skills,²⁴ leaving a very high number able to read proficiently. This very positive account of the reading ability of both adults and children in the

²⁰ Jostein Fet, *Skrivande bønder. Skriftkultur på Nord-Vestlandet 1600–1850* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 2003).

²¹ A ‘soul register’, a listing of the inhabitants of a given parish, would also give information on the religious knowledge of the parishioners and include information about their reading skills.

²² Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 34–38.

²³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 44.

²⁴ Helgheim, *Allmugeskolen paa bygdene*, 207

mid-eighteenth century coincided with a doubling of the production of religious books in Denmark-Norway in the period 1725–1749.²⁵

Many adult readers included in the registers discussed above had learned to read prior to the school reform of 1739. Such findings suggest that in the late seventeenth century many people—although more likely men, according to some reports—were also able to read.²⁶ A. W. Heffermehl has asserted that by the mid-seventeenth century the main part of the population had learnt the catechism and its explanation either orally or by reading.²⁷ Hence, although the evidence is limited, there are indications that reading ability in early modern Norway was relatively widespread and perhaps on a par with other Scandinavian countries. This, naturally, indicates that there is no absolute correlation between the extent of the official schooling available and the literacy levels in a given district.²⁸ A range of testimonies dating from the eighteenth century also indicate that children were taught to read at home by their mothers and fathers; the Reformation's emphasis on the duty of parents to instil the basic tenets of Lutheran faith in their children may therefore have had just as strong an impact in conveying reading skills as had the school system itself.²⁹

3.2 *Inventories in rural areas*

Religious life in Denmark-Norway in the wake of the Reformation was shaped by the impulses of confessionalisation. The basic tenets of the Lutheran faith were gradually instilled in the broader and primarily rural population, which suggests that Peter Burke's claims that reformers only won their victory in the outlying parts of Europe after 1650 hold true for the Danish-Norwegian situation.³⁰ At this time, the population had become more distinctly Lutheran, in part as a result of their ability to read.

²⁵ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 44.

²⁶ Oddvar Johan Jensen, "... lære deres Børn selv, ligesom de vare lærte..." Sjeleregisteret som kilde til allmuens kunnskapsnivå før opprettelsen av allmueskolen," *Heimen* 2 (1995): 85–90.

²⁷ Heffermehl, *Folkeundervisningen i Norge*, 123, 184.

²⁸ Arne Apelseth, "Den låge danninga. Skriftmeistring, diskursintegreering og tekstlege deltakingsformer 1760–1840" (Dr. Art. diss., University of Bergen, 2004), 248–249.

²⁹ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 112–113.

³⁰ Burke, *Popular Culture*, 235.

Reading, however, required books, and inventories from the late seventeenth century onwards indicate that the population of early modern Norway indeed owned books, although not necessarily many. The soul register of Haram reveals that 96.6 per cent of households owned books in the 1750s, with approximately 4.2 books per household. In Ofoten in northern Norway, another rural district, registers convey that there were 3.25 books per household in 1775. In Jostedal, soul registers indicate that every household in the period 1759–1760 possessed 5.9 books in average.³¹ Such registers appear, however, to have recorded only a selection of the books in each household. In Haram, for instance, ABCs were not included in the official protocol, although we know from the parson that they were being read. Similarly, chapbooks and broadsheets went unnoted, probably because this type of reading was not deemed worthy of registration.³² Inventories taken between 1700 and 1839 suggest that the number of books owned was largely consistent across the various sections of the rural population, although self-sufficient peasants owned a slightly higher percentage of books (58.5%) than did cotters (44.8%). Men tended in general to possess slightly more books than did women, and married men more than the unmarried.³³ In all instances, the collections were significantly smaller than those belonging to the educated sections of society.

How might we characterise the market for popular literature in early modern Norway? The seventeenth century saw the implementation of pervasive structures that were to shape all aspects of religious life. Alongside the incorporation of a *poenitentia* theology can be discerned a growing concern for standardisation (cf. 2.1): not only was religious education rigorously strengthened, but religious practice itself was also increasingly streamlined. The law on church rituals passed in 1685 would determine the character of services in Denmark-Norway for the next two hundred years. This official focus on standardisation, which implicitly aimed to mould the subjects' personal piety, also led to the publication of a whole range of books deemed desirable, written in the vernacular. The steady increase in the number of such books was of particular importance to the lower classes who had no access to international debates because of their unfamiliarity with Latin and other European languages, German in particular. The increase in popular religious books coincided, as noted earlier in this chapter, with a greater

³¹ Apelseth, "Den låge danninga," 216–217.

³² Apelseth, "Den låge danninga," 232–239.

³³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 99.

emphasis on the education of the laity and was supported by the neatly patterned system of privileges and censorship (cf. Chapter 2).

What books did the rural population of early modern Norway purchase? As a result of governmental pressure, commercial success in the early modern book market depended above all on Lutheran works. Hymn books were printed in large numbers, in line with the concept of Reformation through song. With time, additions made to hymn books allowed these works to function as prayer books and, sometimes, as calendars. Some of these books also included sermons and articles of faith. A hymn book could thus evolve into a multifunctional manual.³⁴ Inexpensive Bibles were also popular, as were catechisms and ABCs, the last of which contained the alphabet, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.³⁵ Most seventeenth-century printers and editors were involved in the production of these profitable books.

A form of literature known as the Postil also received official sanction. A collection of sermons used during services by Danish and Norwegian clerics in the decades following the Reformation, the Postil became popular reading among the lower classes and continued to be printed throughout the early modern period. Another success in terms of sales was the so-called handbook, a small-format compilation of extracts from the Psalms, the Gospels, Luther's catechism and so forth.³⁶ Studies of inventories from rural Norwegian areas, most of them from the late seventeenth century onwards, point to the pervasiveness of these books on the popular market. Inventories from the regions of Sunnmøre, Romsdal, Nordmøre and Telemark and ranging across the period from 1690 to 1839 indicate that the most broadly distributed types of literature were Bibles, ABCs, catechisms, hymn books and sermon collections (Postils).³⁷

Most of the religious works owned by the laity appear to have been written by exponents of Lutheran orthodoxy. Seventeenth-century orthodox theology was just as important in shaping popular religiosity as it was to the establishment of long-lasting ecclesiastical and educational structures. Three orthodox Lutheran authors of sermon collections appear most frequently in the records from which we can

³⁴ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 226.

³⁵ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 911.

³⁶ Horstbøll, *Menigmænds medie*, 380.

³⁷ The study of book dissemination in these regions (Fet, *Lesande bønder*) is the most substantial examination undertaken so far of the reading culture of ordinary people in early modern Norway.

determine which books were disseminated: Heinrich Müller (d. 1675), Jesper Brochmand (d. 1652) and Povl Andersen Medelbye (d. 1632, see table 1). Of these, Müller seems to have been most highly regarded: in the region of Sunnmøre, for instance, 54 per cent of sermon collections listed were Müller's *Postille*; Brochmand was the author of 19.5 per cent and Medelbye 11.2 percent.³⁸

Table 1: Authors of bestselling sermon collections (Postils)

Povl Andersen Medelbye (1557–1632) obtained a master's degree in theology from the University of Copenhagen in 1593. He was appointed superintendent on the island of Gotland, but his polemical character led to various conflicts and he was dispossessed in 1599. Benefiting, however, from the support of the chancellor Arild Huitfeldt, Medelbye was appointed parson of Our Lady's Church in Odense and in this period wrote his widely acclaimed *Ungdommens Postil* (Sermons for Young People).³⁹ Jesper Brochmand (1586–1652) studied both at Copenhagen and in the Netherlands, at Franeker. In 1610, he was appointed professor *paedagogicus* at the University of Copenhagen and in 1615 became professor of theology. Brochmand, together with Hans Poulsen Resen, became a pillar of Lutheran orthodoxy at Copenhagen; his contribution to making orthodoxy the main religious current of the seventeenth century was decisive. In addition to authoring several *Loci*, Brochmand wrote works such as his sermon collection that found a popular audience. In 1638, he was appointed bishop of Zealand, the highest ecclesiastical position within the twin monarchy.⁴⁰ Heinrich Müller (1631–1675) was appointed professor of theology at Rostock in 1662 and superintendent in the same city in 1671. Müller produced a large printed corpus, not least as a writer of sacred texts. Despite his allegiance to Lutheran orthodoxy, Müller focused more on the individual believer's direct access to God, and he also translated English theological works into German. Some of Müller's edifying works were translated into Danish by the Norwegian-born theologian Peder Møller, including his widely disseminated *Postille*.⁴¹

³⁸ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 201–205.

³⁹ DBL 11:207. DBL: *Dansk Biografisk Lexicon*, Copenhagen 1887–1905.

⁴⁰ DBL 3:73–84.

⁴¹ Hagesæther, *Norsk preken*, 126–129.

The inventories analysed for the four regions mentioned above suggest that prayer books and hymn books intended for a lay audience were largely the work of seventeenth-century authors who fit within the orthodox Lutheran category. Between 63 and 89 per cent of the total number of hymn books registered across the regions of Sunnmøre, Romsdal, Nordmøre and Telemark in the period 1690–1839 were written by Lutheran orthodox authors, many of them of Danish-Norwegian origin. Highly valued were works such as *Catechismus-Sange* by Petter Dass (d. 1707), *Aandelige Siunge Koor* by Thomas Kingo (d. 1703), *Siælens Luth* by Marcus C. Volquartz (d. 1720), *En Christens Tancke-Tøyle* by Iver Brinck (d. 1728), and *Taare Perse* by Jesper Rasmussen Rachløv (d. ca. 1690).⁴² Kingo's version was officially authorised by a royal decree of 1699 that stated that every diocese should use this particular version; between 1699 and 1874, his hymn book saw 118 editions.⁴³

The books in rural households included other religious works in addition to those of more instructional character, such as Bibles, hymn books, sermon collections, catechisms and ABCs. These additional works targeting godly living and the inner life of faith became more widely distributed during the eighteenth century, increasingly competing with the instructional books on the broader market. Although a range of edifying books were in circulation, a cluster of Lutheran orthodox authors dominated this market up to and throughout the eighteenth century. Works by highly regarded authors of Danish-Norwegian origin included *Naadens Aandelige Markets-Tid* by Jonas Ramus (d. 1718), *Den rictige Vey* by Jens D. Jersin (d. 1634) and *Den himmelske Herredag* by Albert Raffn (d. ca. 1640, see table 2). But the bestseller was Ramus's *Naadens Aandelige Markets-Tid* (1680), an apocalyptically oriented writing representing an allegory of human life similar to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Warning against worldly temptation, this book appeared in as many as fifteen editions prior to 1800.⁴⁴

Edifying works by non-Scandinavian authors were also to be found in the regions of Sunnmøre, Romsdal, Nordmøre and Telemark. Mystically inclined works by German authors, such as *Dend Sanne Christendom* by Johann Arndt (d. 1621) and, to a lesser extent,

⁴² Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 223–242.

⁴³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 229–231.

⁴⁴ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 183–189.

Christendoms Øvelse by Spener were popular. From the English sphere of influence, Richard Baxter (d. 1691) reached a certain audience through his *En fattig Mands Huus-Bog* (The Poor Man's Family Book), released onto the market in 1721. Other authors of more mystical character also had their works distributed in rural Norway, namely, Christian Scriver (d. 1693), Philipp Nicolai (d. 1624) and, from the pre-Reformation period, Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471); works by these authors softened the influence of seventeenth-century *poenitentia* theology. Also significant in terms of distribution was *Lucidarius*, or *Elucidarius*, a book of medieval origin that following the Reformation was stripped of much of its original content, such as topography and astronomy. In its post-Reformation form, *Lucidarius*, like Pontoppidan's official explanation of Luther's catechism, communicated the main aspects of Lutheran faith through the traditional form of the dialogue.

The Lutheran orthodox legacy dominated the market for edifying works with a grip that religious literature of a more Pietist or enlightened character could not release. Early eighteenth-century Pietests had sought to educate the masses by flooding the market with religious manuals (cf. 2.2), but accomplished this by the repeated reissuing of older, Lutheran orthodox edifying books. As a result, the presence of Pietist or Enlightenment-inspired works on the late eighteenth-century book market coincided with popular works promoting a more orthodox style of Lutheran religiosity (cf. 3.4). And, although the popularity of specific authors and works varied across regions, those works most frequently encountered in the available records were predominantly of Danish-Norwegian or German origin.⁴⁵

Non-religious books also circulated in rural areas, although in smaller numbers than their religious counterparts. Some of these non-religious works were popular stories such as romances, legends and fables, a text tradition that had originated in medieval times and would decline in popularity only in the nineteenth century (cf. Chapter 9). Only a few were of more scientific character, and of these, works with practical application—on law and arithmetic, for example—appear to have been most frequently purchased. Søren Matthiesen's elementary book on calculation, *Een let Arithmetica eller Regnekunst*, published in the late seventeenth century, and Tyge Hansøn's *Aritmetica danica* seem to have found the most extensive readership. The most widely

⁴⁵ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 184–189.

Table 2: Bestselling authors of edifying religious works among the laity

Jonas Ramus (1649–1718) was both a historian and a theologian. The son of a parson, Ramus studied at the University of Copenhagen and in 1690 was appointed parson of Norderhov, a position in which he remained until his death. His first work, *Naadens Aandelige Markets-Tid*, proved very popular and was regularly reprinted until the second half of the nineteenth century. A second religious work was published in 1695, followed by a number of historical works, including one on church history.⁴⁶ Albert Raffn (or Ravn, d. ca. 1640) was born in Malmø. In 1619, he became a student in the Danish city of Roskilde and in 1623 was appointed vicar in Skåne, where he remained until his death. Raffn was the author of the apocalyptic work *Den himmelske Herredag*, a portrayal of the world's last days. This book was reprinted at least eleven times in the period 1652–1793.⁴⁷ Raffn's apocalyptic work is typical of a wide range of edifying books dealing with aspects of death, a genre that took various literary forms throughout the early modern period.⁴⁸ Johann Arndt (1555–1621), superintendent at Celle, wrote several books of devotional and mystical-spiritual character which became highly influential among Protestants of different confessions. Arndt, inspired by Johannes Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, reached no less an audience through his *Wahres Christenthum* (1–4), in which he dwelled on the union between the believer and Christ. Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum* and his *Paradiesgärtlein* were eventually translated into Danish. Arndt was a source of inspiration for the later German Pietists.

disseminated medical books were *Lægebog* by the Danish-born physician Henrik Smith (d. 1563), *Lægebog* by Niels Michelsen Aalborg (d. 1645) and *Dend barmhiertige samaritan* (The Good Samaritan) by Elias Beynon; this last work appears also to have been popular in other parts of early modern Norwegian society (cf. Chapter 7). Similarly, *Flora Danica* by Simon Paulli (d. 1680), a work on botany but with

⁴⁶ DBL 13:389–391.

⁴⁷ FDNI 6:422. FDNI: *Forfatterlexicon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, Copenhagen 1924–1935.

⁴⁸ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 385–412.

medical applications, seems to have been distributed in significant numbers.⁴⁹ Almanacs also remained steady sellers, used for practical purposes as well as for making predictions. All these non-religious books, like the more popular religious books, seem to have circulated for a long time on the early modern book market.

3.3 *Books in stock in urban areas*

In urban areas, book distribution among ordinary inhabitants seems to have been similar to that noted in rural regions. In the highly international city of Trondheim, for instance, inventories of the collections of ordinary citizens drawn up around 1700 show that at least 75 per cent of the books belonging to this section of the population were of religious character.⁵⁰ Only every third home was equipped with a Bible, however, no doubt because of the expense. Instead, as many as two thirds owned a *Postil*, and a major success in the Trondheim area, as in the rural regions mentioned above, seems to have been the orthodox theologian Jesper Brochmand's *Postille*. Hymnbooks also proliferated, including Thomas Kingo's official version, as did other religious and edifying works, notably those written by the Danish theologians Jens D. Jersin and Niels Hemmingsen (d. 1600); the latter was one of the most significant Reformation theologians in Denmark-Norway. In keeping with the spirit of the time, and in line with the rural inventories mentioned above, books from a more mystical tradition were also included in Trondheim inventories: the dissemination of work by Thomas à Kempis, Johann Arndt and John Bunyan (*Pilgrim's Progress*) among the Trondheim population was considerable.

The limited number of non-religious books included in Trondheim inventories covered a wide range of topics, such as medicine, cookery, gardening and arithmetic. A substantial 13 per cent of these works were books on gardening or herbals; it should be noted also that Norway's first officially appointed city gardener, Christian Gartner, resided in Trondheim at the time. History, geography and cosmology

⁴⁹ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 268–273.

⁵⁰ For an outline of the Trondheim book market, see Henry Berg, "Små bilder av livet i det gamle Trondhjem," in *300 år med Cicignon*, ed. Rolf Grankvist and Harald Hals (Trondheim: Trondheim Kommune, 1981), 159–161.

seem also to have been relatively widely disseminated in Trondheim, including Arild Huitfeldt's history of Denmark and Sebastian Münster's *Cosmografia*; short stories such as *Susanna* and *Alexander den Store* (Alexander the Great) also appear in Trondheim listings. Overall, however, again it is the pervasive spread of religious literature that characterises Trondheim inventories. The omnipresent religious literature that dominated the book market of early modern Norway mirrors similar trends in Denmark.⁵¹

In other large towns, Bergen and Christiania, for example, a similar pattern of book distribution prevailed, at least according to the stock of printers and booksellers. The material left by the Christiania printer Wilhelm Wedeman on his death in 1718 is typical. 1,200 exemplars of the elaboration of Luther's Small Catechism by Henrik Bornemann (d. 1710) fall into our category 'edifying religious material'. As 'religious song books' we can include Jesper Rasmussen Rachløv's *Taareperse* and *Den sjungende Tidsfordrif* by Samuel Olsen Bruun (d. 1694), which were listed alongside 517 exemplars of Iver Brinck's *En Christens Tancke-Tøyle*. Indeed, a wide range of Danish-Norwegian hymn books were registered in Wedeman's inventory, including a number of copies of Thomas Kingo's *Aandelige siungekoor* and 400 exemplars of Petter Dass's *Bibelske Vise-Bog*. The presence of these religious song books is indicative of the wide distribution that hymn books enjoyed in early modern Norway (see table 3). Wedeman also left 2,000 exemplars of the parson Hans Hvalsøe's *De Bedendes aandelige Kjæde*, a prayer book that appeared in as many as twenty-seven editions in the period 1700–1840.⁵² Wedeman had originally served as an apprentice at a Christiania printing house run by Hans Hoff, who also operated as a bookbinder and bookseller. Wedeman eventually married Hoff's daughter Agnethe and with time was allowed to start his own printing house in Christiania.⁵³ As the inventory shows, he specialised in religious literature that would attract a broad range of purchasers.

Books listed as the possessions of Bergen bookbinders around 1700 demonstrate the same pervasiveness of Lutheran edifying literature as found among printers. The 1715 inventory of the bound stock of

⁵¹ Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*.

⁵² Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere*, 39–40.

⁵³ Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere*, 29–31.

bookbinder Torsten Rafn included 179 catechisms and eighteen copies of *David's Psalms* as well as a range of hymn books. The listing included fifty-two manuals, the term 'manual' indicating a multifunctional book that could serve as prayer book, hymn book, Postil and even as a calendar. Six exemplars of *Laas for munden* (The Sealed Mouth), a book on blasphemy by the German theologian Georg Albrecht (d. 1647), were also among his stock. Among the unbound books were fifty-nine exemplars of the hymn book *Kaarsens Frugt*, written by the cleric's daughter Ingeborg Andersdatter Grytten, as well as 450 ABCs, seventy-one Gospels, eighty-two catechisms and twenty-one exemplars of Holberg's history of Europe. Similar edifying literature occurs in the inventory left by Rafn's wife the following year. In bound form, there were, for instance, twenty-three "biblical books," several different hymn books (*Siungende mund*, *Sangoffer*, *Taareperse*), catechisms and sermon collections. A few exemplars of *Skippers kiste* were listed, a work containing morning and afternoon prayers for sailors. Amongst the unbound books were fifty manuals, thirty-two popular tales (*Susanna*), 100 books referred to as "quite small," 200 ABCs, as well as 110 catechisms. Twenty-six exemplars of John Bunyan's *Pilgrims Fremgang* (Pilgrim's Progress) and Iver Brinck's *En Christens Tancke-Tøyle* were also listed in the inventory.⁵⁴

Bookbinders and printers in larger towns focused on putting instructional and edifying religious books onto the market. Some of these books were sold to ordinary town dwellers, but others must have been exported into rural areas, where they found an additional readership. Few of the books listed in the stock of town printers and binders seem to have been of non-religious character. Instead, religious works in the vernacular, and hymn books in particular, seem to have been popular sales items. Authorship is dominated by the Lutheran orthodox, signalling the pervasiveness of orthodoxy as a religious current among early modern worshippers. Several of these authors were Danish or Norwegian born, although a cluster of authors from further afield seem also to have been appreciated by readers. The readers' interests that we can deduce from the apparent desirability of works in these inventories suggest that the Lutheranisation of the masses was relatively successful. Such religious works dominated the market, but not to the exclusion of all other forms. Many non-religious

⁵⁴ Dahl 2007, "Questioning Religious Influence," 96–97.

Table 3: Authors of bestselling spiritual song books

Hymn books and spiritual song books were frequently found among the broader population. Widely disseminated, for instance, was the psalm book by parson Iver Brinck (1665–1728). Brinck studied at Uppsala and Copenhagen before joining the English auxiliary force in Ireland (1691). Brinck subsequently resided in London as pastor to the Danish congregation there and achieved a certain fame back in Denmark through his refutation of Robert Molesworth's *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692*, a critique of absolutist rule (cf. 2.2). With this reputation, Brinck was eventually appointed parson in Copenhagen, and from this position he wrote one of the period's most esteemed hymn books, *En Christens Tancke-Tøyle* (*Tancketøilen*).⁵⁵ The family background of Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) was humble, but Kingo would become a parson and later a bishop; he was also the author of poems of both secular and religious character. Everyday life, history, nature and, not least, reverence for the royal family were topics of several of his poetical works. His most famous work, however, was the officially approved book of hymns.⁵⁶ Jesper Rasmussen Rachløv (d. ca. 1690), studied at the school in Roskilde in Denmark and was appointed parson to the fleet in 1676. Having served at sea for at least seven years, Rachløv was appointed parson of Græse in 1685. His collection of psalms, *Taareperse*, first published in 1684 and dedicated to Christ, became a much cherished edifying manual.⁵⁷ At least seventeen editions of this book were published in Copenhagen and Christiania prior to 1803.⁵⁸ Petter Dass (1647–1708), a poet and dean of Alstadhaug, one of the most remunerative parishes in northern Norway, was known to the broader population through his numerous verses of religious, mundane and even satirical character, several of which described contemporary life in northern Norway. Two of his religious works, *Katekismus-Sange* (Luther's Small Catechism in verse) and *Bibelske Vise-Bog*, i.e., *Aandelige Tidsfordriv eller bibelske Visebog* (Histories from the Old Testament in verse), proved popular amongst the population at large.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ DBL 3:59–60.

⁵⁶ DBL 9:170–180.

⁵⁷ DBL 13:348.

⁵⁸ FDNI 6:383.

⁵⁹ DBL 4:202–207.

books— almanacs, popular stories and chivalric legends, for example (cf. Chapter 9)—remained steady sellers in the early modern market of print.

3.4 *Changes in book patterns in the late eighteenth century*

In the late eighteenth century, during the Enlightenment, cracks appeared in the book market edifice that challenged the pre-eminence of religious books among ordinary people. Symbolic of this change was the scope of the publications themselves: whereas in theory the king had been the ultimate recipient of earlier texts—this material had functioned as a kind of petition—Enlightenment literature was addressed directly to the public.⁶⁰

Lutheran orthodox authors and works were finally losing their grip on the book market, in towns as well as in rural districts. Religious writing did not, however, simply vanish. Rather, and at least after 1750, the uptake for Pietist and Enlightenment-inspired religious works grew at the expense of literature that fell within the category of the 'long orthodoxy'. Seen in terms of book circulation, therefore, the dissemination of Pietist literature among the broader masses is a late eighteenth-century phenomenon that coincided with the publication of religious works inspired by enlightened rationalism. This trend can also be discerned in the libraries of clerics; it is only in the latter part of the eighteenth century that we find the Lutheran orthodox presence overtly challenged, or rather demoted, by other types of religious works (cf. Chapter 4).

This new literature did not necessarily have a clear-cut religious profile. The works themselves would often reflect various religious positions. The sermon collections of Hans Mossin (d. 1793) and Hans Strøm (d. 1797) enjoyed a particular vogue in rural areas of western Norway, both authors representing a mid-point between rational theology, Lutheran orthodoxy and the Pietist legacy. Mossin, parson at Bergen Cathedral, wrote in the preface to his *Postille*, published in the years 1766–1769, that there was no conflict between science and religion, and Hans Strøm, one of the period's most proliferate authors on a range of topics in natural science, claimed in his Pietist-inspired

⁶⁰ Kjell Lars Berge, *Å beskrive og forandre verden. En antologi tekster fra 1700-tallets dansk-norske tekstkultur* (Oslo: Norges forskningsråd, 1998), 18.

sermon collection, *Prædikener*, that redemption was only possible through belief in the Saviour. Evil, he held, should not necessarily be seen as a corrupting quality of mankind, but rather as a social and economic issue that improved education and other Enlightenment-inspired efforts would help combat.⁶¹

In addition to increased differentiation among religious books by the last decades of the eighteenth century, we can also discern that by this date the number of religious works as a percentage of the total number of books on the market was falling. Although as a result of the Pietists' educational strategies the production of religious books doubled in the period 1725–1749, non-religious publications also became increasingly accessible. As in several other countries, however, this shift, which was also linked to more widespread ability to read and to improved economic conditions, is most noticeable after 1750. Religious books such as hymn books, sermon collections and Bibles did not necessarily sell less well; rather, these works now became just one type of book available in a steadily expanding market (Cf. Chapter 8).

This shift in the status of religious literature is also noticeable in terms of book distribution. In the rural areas of Sunnmøre, Romsdal, Nordmøre and Telemark, for instance, non-religious literature only accounted for between 2.6 and 8 per cent of the books listed in inventories in the period 1690–1839.⁶² However, print registers in the area of Volda in the period 1808–1817 demonstrate that the number of non-religious books on the market had grown steadily at the end of the early modern period. According to these registers, as much as 28.7 per cent of all printed items consisted of secular prose (self-help books, etc.) and 27.2 per cent of secular poetry; only 15.4 per cent of the total book volume consisted of religious prose (Bibles, sermon collections, etc.) and only 22.8 per cent of religious poetry (spiritual songs, etc.).⁶³ Such numbers are a sign of the structural changes taking place within the book market from the late eighteenth century onwards.

The increasing number of books on the market, including those of non-religious character, also coincided with a growth in various types of libraries. Although public libraries were largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon, several schools were equipped with libraries,

⁶¹ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 208–211.

⁶² Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 254.

⁶³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 61.

some of which opened their doors to the public in the course of the eighteenth century. Trondheim's royal society of science (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab), for instance, gave the public access to its collection in 1766, as did the Deichmann Library in Christiania in 1785. Both these libraries were first and foremost centres of scientific writing, but they also held works of fiction. The majority of the book borrowers at the Deichmann Library were from the upper layers of society, including students from the Latin and military schools.⁶⁴

In Norway, as in other European countries, commercial lending libraries and reading societies (cf. Chapter 8) also played a role in shaping eighteenth-century reading habits. In Britain and France, these organisations became vehicles of the so-called 'reading revolution'. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, lending libraries gained ground against reading societies. Complaints were occasionally made about the quality of books in these organisations, for example, that the lending libraries predominantly stocked fiction that included classical legends along with sentimental love stories and family novels. In Norway, commercial lending libraries came into being in the late eighteenth century, some situated in towns and others in rural districts. They too might hold a large amount of fictional literature, as was the case for Diurendahl's circulating library. Diurendahl also ran one of the largest bookshops in Christiania at the time.⁶⁵

Several reading societies were also founded in late eighteenth-century Norway, again in both towns and rural areas. The books held by these societies, whose total number remains uncertain, varied according to locality and the sections of the population they targeted. Bourgeois reading societies in major towns, for instance, tended to carry a high number of fictional works, as was the case for the reading society in Christiania, Christiania Læse-Selskab. A glance at the books which the society purchased in 1784 reveals that very little religious material was acquired, and that most of the newly obtained material was in the form of novels and short stories.⁶⁶ Similarly, a list of all Danish works possessed in 1790 by the Bergen reading society,

⁶⁴ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 94–96.

⁶⁵ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 97–98.

⁶⁶ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 363–364.

Det Bergenske Læse-Selskab, also reveals that the majority of its books were of non-religious content.⁶⁷

In contrast to the urban context, reading societies in rural areas tended to include a relatively high number of religious works, although non-religious material would sometimes outweigh the religious. In the 1789 register of books owned by the reading society of rural Hardanger, Det Hardangersche Bønders Læse Selskab, only seven out of thirty-three titles were non-religious. These non-religious books, however, covered a wide range of topics including law and medicine. Also listed was a book on the art of swimming, namely, Johan Friederich Bachstrøm's *Den Kunst at svømme* from 1788.⁶⁸ Another, and different, model is provided by the books possessed by the reading societies in the diocese of Kristiansand in southern Norway, a network established by Bishop Peder Hansen in 1798. Here practical manuals dominated the bookshelves including self-help books and works on issues such as agriculture and child rearing, and manuals on how to become rich. Few novels are listed. More remarkable, however, was the fact that only 7 per cent of the books contained religious material.⁶⁹ Also indicative of this new outlook is the non-commercial lending library in the rural district of Ørsta, which included 114 works in 1799, of which only around 35 per cent were of religious character.⁷⁰ Although this percentage is higher than that of the reading societies established in Kristiansand, a general trend can be clearly discerned. At the end of the early modern period alternatives to religious works were increasingly available. This new presence was often formed by self-help books covering topics such as child rearing, housekeeping and agriculture, and of these, agriculture in particular represented a field of study which was given high priority in Danish-Norwegian public life, a priority that should be seen as indicative of the government's mercantilist mentality (cf. 8.3).

One must be wary, however, of overestimating these late eighteenth-century changes in the nature of the books possessed or accessed by ordinary people. Although various reading societies and commercial

⁶⁷ Fortegnelse over Det Bergenske Læse-Selskabs samtlige Danske Bøger Ved Slutningen av Aaret 1790, Bergen 1791; The National Library, Oslo.

⁶⁸ Apelseth, "Den låge danninga," 369.

⁶⁹ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 93.

⁷⁰ Lis Byberg, *Biskopen, bøndene og bøkene. Leseselskapene i Kristiansands stift 1798–1804* (Oslo: HiO rapport, vol. 15, 1998), 122–123.

or non-commercial lending libraries were established in Norwegian regions and towns, Fet's examination of rural inventories indicates that the books circulating among the broader population remained predominantly religious throughout the whole of the early modern period.⁷¹ His picture is in keeping with general European trends. In south-western Germany in the Württemberg village of Laichingen, for instance, 98.5 per cent of books listed in peasant inventories in the period 1748–1820 were of religious content. Devotional works were also present, although to a lesser degree, in book collections in urban households.⁷² In time, however, these religious books had competition, as was also the case in Norway: for the lower classes, for instance, a range of self-help books became available. One of the titles that emerged as a bestseller was *Lære-Bog, eller kortfattet Underviisning i adskillige philosophiske og mathematiske Videnskaber* in two volumes, printed in Copenhagen in 1782. This book by the German theologian and natural scientist Gotthilf Reccard (d. 1798) covered topics such as physics, zoology, botany, mineralogy, geometry and astronomy, and attracted readers ranging from servants and craftsmen to students and merchants.⁷³

The early modern Danish-Norwegian government had sought to make Lutheranism ubiquitous by means of the suppression of other belief systems, especially the remnants of Roman Catholicism. To combat such false beliefs and practices and, not least, to create a Lutheran society, instructional and edifying religious books were to be made available in large quantities. As this chapter has demonstrated, these endeavours proved successful. Religious books were purchased by the early modern reader, and many of these books proved to be long-term bestsellers. Judged in terms of the dissemination of their books, a group of Lutheran orthodox authors remained popular throughout much of the early modern period. Many of these works, but far from all, were written in the vernacular language by Danish-Norwegian authors. In early modern Norway, as in other European countries, therefore, it is the longevity of certain types of traditional religious works that characterises book distribution,⁷⁴ and only in the

⁷¹ Fet, *Lesande bønder*.

⁷² Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 87.

⁷³ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 256–257.

⁷⁴ For this long-lasting popularity of traditional books on the early modern book market, see for instance Faivre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 216.

later eighteenth century did this tradition of reading predominantly religious works change slightly.

With the tenacity of Lutheran orthodox authors and works, the circulation of Pietist- and Enlightenment-inspired literature seems to have been a late eighteenth-century phenomenon. Religious works, however, were never alone on the market: collections of popular tales and other types of non-religious literature remained steady sellers within a market that had expanded by the end of the early modern period to encompass a higher number of non-religious works. The non-religious works accessed by the popular laity appear to have been of a more practical type than some of those accessed by the upper middle classes; the latter also purchased a high number of historical works and travel literature (see Chapters 8 and 9).

CHAPTER FOUR

BOOKS OF THE CLERGY

4.1 *Clerical education*

At the age of four, Thomas von Westen (b. 1682), son of the apothecary in Trondheim, by accident ate some home-made cakes filled with rat poison. Having narrowly avoided death, Thomas would suffer from the poison in various ways; he became bold and developed a lump over his left eye.¹ Perhaps as a result of this misfortune, Thomas dedicated himself to the somewhat solitary world of study. After much reading and substantial university education, von Westen became a renowned philologist and a prominent member of the clergy, appointed as the leader of missionary activities in the 'heathen' parts of northern Norway. Von Westen also owned an important collection of approximately seven hundred books.

As a cleric, Von Westen was part of one of the largest groups of officials in early modern Norway (cf. Chapter 1). In general, these clerics had been trained in reading from a very early age, and many of them, at least those belonging to the upper clergy, had been educated at institutions of higher education. Conformity to state-sponsored Lutheranism was required of clergy and laity alike. The clergy were supposed to remain faithful to Lutheran beliefs in their personal convictions, in their sermons and in their involvement in the general education of the broader masses. As part of the educated layer of society, many clergymen also amassed large book collections, and unlike the lower classes, who might be led astray by what they read, the upper sections of society were believed not to be so easily distracted by undesirable literature. The contents of the book collections that clergymen assembled were largely determined by trade networks, by the contemporary *Zeitgeist*, and by their owners' educational background.

For the clergy, Latin schools and the University of Copenhagen were the most usual channels for the installation of a firm understanding

¹ Jørgen W. Flood, *Norges Apothekere i 300 Aar* (Kristiania: Den norske Apothekerforening, 1889), 173.

of Lutheran theology. At the University of Copenhagen, the charter of 1539 had laid the foundations for an educational pattern that was to gain in influence throughout the seventeenth century, and, as a system, remained almost unchanged for at least two hundred years. Even after the new charter of 1732, following the fire of 1728 and rebuilding of the university, only slight alterations were made to the curriculum. Only with the university reform of 1788, was the system modified, in line with the spirit of Enlightenment.² At Latin-school level too, practices established during the Reformation were strengthened by diverse acts passed during the seventeenth century, and the system remained by and large unchallenged throughout the early modern period. Hence, the seventeenth-century orthodox climate of standardisation was just as important to framing education as a whole as it was to shaping reading patterns and piety (cf. Chapter 2).

Latin schools played a central role in education in Norway, as other than a short-lived *Gymnasium* in Christiania (1636–1669), they were the only establishments to offer a wider curriculum to the early modern population. As such, Latin schools—or a private tutor—usually provided the preparatory framework for Norwegian students who would then travel abroad to attend university; ten Latin schools had been established by 1739, and another four after that date.³ Of the *septem artes liberales*, the Latin schools stressed the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics at the expense of the *quadrivium* subjects of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

The Latin-school curriculum was based on the Church Ordinance of 1537/39, which was reprinted in 1542. These regulations had at their core a profound emphasis on the teaching of Lutheran doctrine, but within a system in which primacy was given to Latin, with a lesser stress also on Greek and Hebrew; basic tenets of the Lutheran faith were firmly included within the framework of language studies. Acquiring these skills was important if a student wished to attend a university, most likely that at Copenhagen. Although entrance requirements were strengthened throughout the early modern period, potential university students were tested as a minimum on their Latin skills, on their understanding of passages from the New Testament and on

² Ole B. Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1975), 28–29.

³ Eliassen, “Patrisiat og allmue,” 235.

the basic articles of the Lutheran faith (for a broader survey of the Latin school system, cf. 5.1).

Within the university system, the first step in a future cleric's career was ideally to join the Faculty of Philosophy in order to prepare for admission to the Faculty of Theology—throughout most of the early modern period, the philosophical faculty functioned as a kind of pre-school for the other faculties. Here, the emphasis was again on the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, and in principle, it was not possible to join any of the three higher faculties of medicine, law and theology before a certain level of philosophical knowledge had been acquired. Students might, however, deliberately skip the *artes* training in order to focus on more financially remunerative theological studies, and for this reason an obligatory *examen philosophicum* was introduced in 1675.

Once accepted into the Faculty of Theology, students were exposed to this period's characteristic twofold form of educational instruction based on Scripture and *loci*—knowledge of the Bible and knowledge of the Lutheran articles of faith—a model inherited from Melanchthon. This approach, recorded in the charter of 1539, came to be reflected in the teaching resources. Following the Reformation, three professors of theology were appointed (one being the bishop of Zealand), and their main task was to expound Scripture. Theology, according to the charter, was God's word as recorded in the Old and New Testaments, and whereas two of the professors were to expound Scripture, the bishop of Zealand was to elaborate on *loci*.⁴ This system was retained into the seventeenth century and the period of orthodoxy, with some minor adjustments such as greater emphasis on dogmatics and the incorporation of polemical theology (*controversiae*). The importance of *controversiae fidei* also led to a lively interest in church history, which had its repercussions for the curriculum. In 1698 lectures on early church history, not a novelty at the university, were provided by Hans Wandal the Younger, who lectured on *origines ecclesiasticae*, the earliest days of the Church and was followed by Christen Worm, who spoke on *vitae patrum aevi apostolice proximi*, the first post-apostolic Church fathers.

The charter of 1732 made no major alterations to the teaching of theology. Four professors were to enforce the same curriculum as in

⁴ Oluf Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg* (Oslo and Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1962), 60–61.

the two previous centuries, namely, knowledge of the Bible and of the articles of faith; church history was, however, now fully integrated, partly inspired by the Pietist curriculum at the University of Halle.⁵ Of the four professorial chairs, one was dedicated to church history, one to examination of students, one to knowledge of the Bible in its original languages and one to discussion of the articles of evangelical faith. Although inspiration for the structure of the curriculum was drawn from Halle, which heightened, for example, Copenhagen's focus on juridical studies and political science, little was done to promote Pietist theology. Christian VI had created three extraordinary chairs in theology to strengthen the Pietist cause, but these positions were used in practice only for censoring books, revisions to the translations of the Bible and theological responses. The only Pietist professor whom students in Copenhagen would have encountered was Jeremias Reuss (d. 1777), who taught there from 1730 to 1749.⁶ Students would have come across Pietists and Pietist writings outside the lecture halls.

The Church Ordinance had stressed the use of a cluster of desirable books, such as Luther's catechisms and Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. Luther's commentaries on Paul's Letter to the Galatians would also occasionally be chosen as lecture material, alongside the commentary on Paul's Letter to the Romans by Melanchthon and his apology for the *Confessio Augustana* and *Examen ordinandorum*.⁷ Throughout the early modern period, additional books were added to the curriculum: Niels Hemmingsen's *Enchiridion theologicum*, a guide to Melanchthon's *Loci*, was important until Hemmingsen's fall from grace. Melanchthon's *Loci* was superseded by Jesper Brochmand's *Universae theologiae systema* (1633), a work that came to be given pride of place in all theological education. Due to its very large size, this work was, however, mainly taught through smaller books that reproduced its contents, such as Jens Bircherod's *Synopsis locorum communium* (1662) and eventually Hans Bartholin's *Epitome erotematica* (1716) and *Elementa theologica* (1710).⁸ The Church Ordinance's official list of books deemed important for the study of theology was not reworked until the charter of 1732, but one must avoid thinking of its

⁵ William Norvin, *Københavns universitet i reformationens og orthodoxiens tidsalder* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1937), 114.

⁶ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanningi i Noreg*, 226.

⁷ Grane, *Det teologiske fakultet*, 16–17, Kolsrud, *Presteutdanningi i Noreg*, 194.

⁸ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanningi i Noreg*, 153.

recommendations as hegemonic. Clerics could have been exposed to other Lutheran manuals during private lectures and could in turn encourage exposure to their personal preferences: Bishop Schletter in Trondheim, for instance, proposed Jesper Brochmand's *Systema* and Martin Chemnitz's *Harmonia evangeliorum* as obligatory reading; the latter was an exegetical work subsequently completed by Polycarp Lyser and Johann Gerhard.⁹

Copenhagen became the centre of higher education throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for Norwegian-born students, not least as a result of the gradual strengthening of the university's curriculum. Still, the number of Danes at the University of Copenhagen greatly exceeded the number of Norwegians: during the first half of the seventeenth century, for instance, only every tenth student was Norwegian by birth.¹⁰ Non-Scandinavian universities were also attractive, although future theologians ideally studied in Lutheran territories—the *Novellae constitutiones* of 1621, for instance, advised theologians travelling abroad to attend only Lutheran universities.¹¹ As a result, for Norwegians intending a theological career, Wittenberg and Rostock were popular academic destinations from the second half of the sixteenth century and into the first half of the seventeenth century. Leiden also became a magnet for Norwegian students in the period 1650–1750, while from 1700 onwards, Halle proved most attractive abroad. Thus Halle eventually replaced Wittenberg as the cradle of Lutheranism. Also evident is the importance of the University of Oxford in the period 1650–1750; Oxford was the second most frequent destination, after Leiden. Such a trend naturally led to the introduction of English religious thought among future clergy. Similar patterns of travel also evolved among Danish-born students.¹²

Several laws passed during the early modern period were designed to ensure the skills of future clerics. In 1569, university study with an approved curriculum was made obligatory for appointment to clerical positions, and an amendment passed in 1573 stated that future Norwegian deans could not be appointed to a parish without having

⁹ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanning i Noreg*, 165.

¹⁰ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanning i Noreg*, 206.

¹¹ Grane, *Det teologiske fakultet*, 131.

¹² See Kolsrud, *Presteutdanning i Noreg*, 208, Kragh (ed.), *Fra middelalderlærdom til den nye videnskab*, 184–188, and Sten Ebbesen and Carl Henrik Koch, *Dansk filosofi i Renæssancen, 1537–1700* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2003), 29–32.

spent at least one year at the University of Copenhagen; the requirement for a *Rectoris testimonium* was written into the Church Ordinance of 1607.¹³ If a candidate had studied abroad, an examination was to be conducted by the professor of theology in order to verify the student's proper (i.e. Lutheran) theological knowledge. In 1621, twenty-five was set as the youngest age for appointment as a parson,¹⁴ and in 1629, an official examination for all future clerics was introduced. This examination was to be certified by a minimum of three professors, of whom at least one should be a professor of theology. In 1630, a special examination for all candidates for the bachelor's degree was introduced, and those completing a master's degree had to be examined by a professor of theology. Also, those who wished to become clerics but had not taken a degree, were likewise to have their theological knowledge tested before being given any certification.¹⁵

Examination was oral and based on demonstrating knowledge of the Bible and the articles of faith. In addition to proving their theological knowledge, students were required to demonstrate their preaching ability by means of at least one obligatory official sermon; no future parson was to be ordained if he had not passed these oral tests. The recess of 1643 proclaimed that no one who had not studied a theological and homiletic curriculum could be given a parish.¹⁶ In the eighteenth century, the examination of clerics expanded to include a wider range of topics. Between 1732 and 1773, for instance, the examination topics were *theologia polemica* and *thetica* (dogmatics), church history and knowledge of the Old and New Testaments in their original languages.¹⁷ If he had shown evidence of sufficient learning, then the candidate was to preach a test sermon before one of the professors of theology.

Declamations and disputations would in time also come to be particularly significant aspects of a university education: the former were obligatory for all undergraduates, the latter for all graduate students. Disputations were usually printed and filled approximately one and a half pages. All subjects other than dogmatics could be elaborated in such disputations.¹⁸ Student life was also to be characterised by a disci-

¹³ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 97.

¹⁴ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 107.

¹⁵ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 132–133.

¹⁶ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 158–160.

¹⁷ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 204.

¹⁸ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 173–176.

plined and spiritual lifestyle. Each year, a guide to proper behaviour (*Leges studiosorum*) was distributed to newcomers, signalling that students should restrain from spending time in “distracting and corrupting places” such as taverns.¹⁹ Similarly, students at the University of Copenhagen were ideally to attend all services and receive the Lord’s Supper at least twice a year. In the colleges, morning and afternoon meals started with prayer, and not even the charter of 1732 radically altered this practice.²⁰

Discrepancies between what students were expected to learn and what they actually learned were not unusual. Examinations would often take a very simple form as knowledge was based on learning various passages by heart in a system based on repetition. Topics chosen for theological disputations may have had little relevance for the work of a future cleric. The thesis debated by Christian Sommerfeldt, vicar of Our Lady’s Church in Trondheim, for example, questioned whether some of the guests who visited the prophet Elijah were angels disguised as ravens or Arabs.²¹ Other topics chosen for discussion included whether or not Adam and Eve had navels, or to which family of snakes the one that tempted Eve belonged.²² Professors might spend several years lecturing on one particular topic or one particular section of Scripture. Although academic officials sought to restrict this practice by limiting the time spent on each topic to last between one and two years, in practice this tradition proved difficult to curtail and as a result a student who attended the University of Copenhagen for a short period might be exposed to only a very limited elaboration of the Bible.

The length of time spent by students at university could vary greatly despite the emphasis during the early modern period on obligatory university training for clerics. Over the course of the eighteenth century, 61 per cent of students spent from three to six years at university. As the frequent revisions to the legislation suggest, many students remained for a shorter time. Although future theologians were expected to have attended university for at least two years, dispensations were available, particularly in cases where the student was poor.²³ In practice, a Danish-Norwegian cleric may have spent only two years,

¹⁹ Svend Erik Stybe, *Copenhagen University: 500 Years of Science and Scholarship* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1979), 99.

²⁰ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 173–175.

²¹ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 182.

²² Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 83.

²³ Grane, *Det teologiske fakultet*, 241.

or even less, in Copenhagen. Education in the lower ranks of the clergy may have been limited to attendance at a Latin school and where there were no Latin schools, as in the northern parts of Norway, to instruction by the local parson. As a result, some clergy had no personal experience of university study and retained habits derived from existing local standards. However, future clerics with the financial means to undertake more substantial study might spend several years in Copenhagen and, perhaps, abroad. Germany, the Netherlands and England were most attractive to students looking to study abroad, places with which there were also significant trading links.

4.2 *Books originating in Germany*

As a clergyman with his own library, Thomas von Westen was typical of the Norwegian pastorate. The specialist material found in their collections was not as readily available as the more popular printed works targeted at the broader population. The learned classes could, however, access the broader European market of print through a variety of channels. Specialist literature could be bought directly from foreign bookstores or from local salesmen who imported this type of work; books could also be purchased during travel abroad. An important role was played by both the second-hand book market and family relationships: as the clergy tended to be recruited from families with an ecclesiastical background, books were often passed on from one generation to another (cf. Chapter 2). Participation in the broader European world of knowledge was made possible by the ability to read Latin and German, and on occasion also French, English and Dutch.

What, then, characterises the world of books of clerics in early modern Norway? Examination of clerical book collections recorded in inventories from the late seventeenth century onwards, a period when such listings became more widespread, shows that this layer of the population had access to an unexpectedly high number of authors and works.²⁴ Despite living in a northern periphery, the Norwegian clergy

²⁴ This survey of clerical book collections is based on my Dr. Art. dissertation, "Questioning Religious Influence." Here, more than ninety clerical collections comprising approximately 10,000 books were analysed. This study has been published as *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway, 1650–1750*, vol. 148 of *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

could evidently participate in religious and intellectual currents circulating on the European market of print. Book distribution among the Norwegian clergy was, however, somewhat uneven: the upper levels tended to possess larger and more varied collections than the lower ranks, and those who resided in larger towns very often owned a higher number of books than those living in rural areas.

Books owned by the Norwegian clergy were by and large printed in or written by authors from three areas—Germany, the Netherlands and England. The importance of these areas in book distribution mirrors their role within networks of education and trade. The international fairs held annually in Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main were frequently the source of books found in Norwegian clerical libraries; books might also have originated in Leiden or Amsterdam. This pattern of distribution can be observed for Thomas von Westen's book collection, listed among the clerical inventories of Trondheim in 1727 (see table 4).

Table 4: Places of publication for books recorded in von Westen's library

Leipzig	37
Leiden	32
Copenhagen	26
Amsterdam	26
Basel	20
Frankfurt	15
London	15
Paris	14
Halle	11
Helmstadt	7
Hamburg	7
Wittenberg	7
Oxford	6
Tübingen	6
Jena	6
Strasbourg	5
Rotterdam	5

(Continued)

Table 4: (*Cont.*)

Antwerp	5
Lübeck	4
Geneva	4
Nuremberg	4
Cologne	3
Hannover	3
Utrecht	3
Ulm	2
The Hague	2
Padua	2
Herborn	2
Bremen	2
Braunschweig	2
Rome	2
Arnsheim	2
Louvain	2
Kiel	2
Rostock	2
Heidelberg	2
Stockholm	2

A relatively small number of books recorded in clerical inventories were by Danish-Norwegian authors, indicative of the fact that printing in Denmark-Norway was concentrated on non-specialist literature in the vernacular, such as hymn books and ABCs. A comparison of books possessed by the Norwegian clergy with books available to the general population highlights two features: unlike the popular material, works of interest to clerics were not usually in the vernacular and did not cluster within the single category of instructional religious books. Instead, clerical collections consisted of a range of other types of works, an example being the large dogmatic treatises. Similarities between the books belonging to the clergy and those of the lower layers of society became more apparent only after 1750, when the former increasingly acquired books in the vernacular, rather than in Latin (see also 4.4 and Chapters 8 and 9). One must be wary, however, of defining the boundaries between these categories too distinctly; the collection of a parish clerk might not necessarily differ radically from that of an ordinary lay

individual, and certain religious works, particularly edifying books, were apparently valued by both clergy and laity.

The most prominent characteristic of clerical book collections in early modern Norway is the profound influence of German authors and works, a reflection of the close links between the German lands and the twin monarchy educationally, religiously, politically and geographically. Works by a relatively large number of authors who were German by birth or location found their way to Norwegian shores. Clerical inventories for the period 1697–1743 in Trondheim, a city with a flourishing book market, record the contents of fourteen book collections in which at least 190 different authors are documented (see table 5).

Table 5: Concordance of German Lutheran theologians listed in Trondheim clerical book collections, 1697–1743

German Lutheran theologians listed in the Trondheim clerical book collections 1697–1743 are: Johann Samuel Adami, Wilhelm Alard, Georg Albrecht, Johann Arndt, Josua Arndt, Gottfried Arnold, Sebastian Artomedes, Christian Avianus, Reinhard Bakius, Friedrich Balduin, Fridemann Beckman, Heinrich Ludolph Benthem, Michael Bern, Felix Bidemback, Johann Binck, Anton Wilhelm Boehme, Martinus Bohemus, Johann Botsack, Johannes Brenz, Stats Buscher, Johann Franz Buddeus, Johannes Bugenhagen, Heinrich Bünting, Georg Calixt, Abraham Calov, Sethus Calvisius, Karl Hildebrand von Canstein, Benedikt Carpzov, Johann Benedikt Carpzov, Balthasar Cellarius, David Chytraeus, Martin Chemnitz, Gottlieb Cober, Christoph Corner, Anton Corvinus, Daniel Cramer, Hartmann Creide, Paulus Crell, Thomas Crenius, Caspar Cruciger the Younger, Johann Conrad Dannhauer, Christoph Dauderstadt, Georg Dedekennus, Conrad Dieterich, Johann Michael Dillherr, Adam Doegen, Johann Georg Dorsch, Heinrich Eckard, Paul Egard, Rupert Erythropel, Georg Fabricius, Johann Albert Fabricius, Johannes Fabricius, Justus Feurborn, Matthias Flacius, Erasmus Francisci, August Hermann Francke, Philipp Heinrich Friedlieb, Johann Caspar Funck, Simon Geddicus, Martin Geier, Christian Gerber, Johann Gerhard, Justus Gesenius, Salomon Gesner, Salomo Glassius, Andreas Glauch, Zacharias Grapius, Albert Grawer, Georg Grosshan, Johann Guenther, Georg Haberlin, Johann Hartmann, Daniel Hartnaccius,

(Continued)

Table 5: (*Cont.*)

Johann Reinhard Hedinger, Jacob Heerbrand, Johann Heermann, Johann Henning, Valerius Herberger, Caspar Heunisch, Joachim Hildebrand, Johann Himmel, Abraham Hinckelmann, Johann Hulsemann, Aegidius Hunnius, Nicolai Hunnius, Leonhard Hutter, Johannes Jan, Philipp Kegel, Peter Kirchback, David Kluge, Johann Friedrich Koenig, Christian Kortholt, Hieronymus Kromayer, Johann Abraham Kromayer, Joachim Lange, Johann Ludwig Langhans, Friedrich von Lanckisch, Michael von Lanckisch, Paulus Laurentius, Petrus Loss, Martin Luther, Polycarp Lyser, Georg Major, Johann Heinrich Majus, Christian Matthiae, Balthasar Meisner, Philipp Melancthon, Balthasar Mentzer, Johann Matthaeus Meyfart, Johann Heinrich Michaelis, Peter Michaelis, Martinus Mirus, Balthasar Müller, Heinrich Müller, Georgius Mylius, Paul Nicander, Philipp Nicolai, Gottfried Olearius, Martin Opitz, Johann Adam Osiander, Lucas Osiander the Elder, Johann Pappus, Christoph Pelargus, Christoph Pezel, Tobias Pfanner, August Pfeiffer, Johann Pfeil, Ernst Christian Philippi, Moses Pflacher, Johann Pomarius, Johann Porst, Andreas Prückner, Johann Andreas Quenstedt, Johann Qvistorp, Johann Jacob Rambach, Friedrich Rappolt, Adam Rechenberg, Johann Riemer, Jacob Reneccius, Christoph Heinrich Rittmeier, Samuel Rüling, David Runge, Michael Rusmeyer, Sigfried Sacc, Johann Adam Schertzer, Georg Schimmer, Erasmus Schmidt, Johann Andreas Schmidt, Sebastian Schmidt, Justus Christoph Schomer, Johann Schroeder, Christian Scriver, Weit Ludwig von Seckendorff, Nicolai Selnecker, Johann Seybold, Oswald Sledanus, Johannes Sleidanus, Severin Walther Sluter, Theodor Snepff, Cyriacus Spangenberg, Johannes Spangenberg, Philipp Jacob Spener, Theophilus Spizel, Georg Stampel, Paul Stockmann, Aegidius Strauch, Victorin Strigel, Georg Strigenitz, Johann Tarnow, Johann Thaddaeus, Nathanael Tilesius, Adam Tribbechow, Johann Heinrich Ursinus, August Varenius, Matthias Vogel the Elder, Gottfried Vogt, Tobias Wagner, Georg Walther, Michael Walther the Elder, Matthias Wasmuth, Johann Weihenmayer, Hieronymus Weller, Jacob Weller, Friedrich Werner, Johannes Wigand, Johann Winckelman, Hermann Zacharias.

The authors listed in table 5 were Lutheran in the broadest interpretation of the term. Included here are various Philippists who were suspected of Crypto-Calvinism, such as Caspar Cruciger the Younger

(d. 1597) and Victorin Strigel (d. 1569). The list also includes both early Lutheran authors and a later generation of theologians who interpreted Lutheran theology in ways that would fall out of favour; authors falling into this latter category, their works listed in Trondheim and other parts of Norway, include Andreas Osiander the Elder (d. 1552) and Georg Major (d. 1574). Osiander was at the centre of the Osiandrian controversy over the issue of righteousness of faith before God; according to Osiander, justification was instilled in humanity by Christ's divinity. Major, a leading figure in the Philippist party, was at the centre of the Majoristic controversy and was attacked by Gnesio-Lutherans for claiming that good works, or merit, were necessary for salvation.²⁵ Works by Matthias Flacius (d. 1575) also appear in various book collections across Norway. Flacius was at the centre of the synergistic controversy on account of his belief in the utter depravity of human beings and his rejection of the possibility of cooperation between God and man; he was also caught up in controversy by his opposition to the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims and to the idea of adiaphora. Several authors in the listing above were also less easily categorised: David Chytraeus (d. 1600), for instance, evolved from adhering to Philippism into becoming Gnesio-Lutheran.

A large number of German Lutheran theologians appear as authors of books in clerical collections, but a smaller selection appear frequently. In Trondheim, for instance, a cluster of only about forty authors appear in more than four of the fourteen collections recorded in clerical inventories in the period 1697–1743 (see table 6). These same authors also reappear in other Norwegian regions, although their popularity varied according to location.

The importance of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century German authors is very much apparent across clerical book collections in early modern Norway, including those recorded in Trondheim. Some of these authors were major figures in their own time, not least because they formulated and clarified the basic tenets of the Lutheran faith. One of the most favoured in terms of book distribution was the eminent theologian Martin Chemnitz (d. 1586), one of the primary authors of the *Formula of Concord* (1577). Chemnitz was involved in several controversies, and had, for instance, to take a position in the Augsburg Interim conflict, when Flacius and the Gnesio-Lutherans opposed the

²⁵ Robert Kolb, "Georg Major as Controversialist: Polemics in the Late Reformation," *Church History* 45/4 (1976): 255.

Table 6: German Lutheran theologians listed more than once in the clerical inventories 1697–1743

Listed across 11 collections	Johann Gerhard (d. 1637)
Listed across 9 collections	Martin Chemnitz (d. 1586), Martin Luther (d. 1546)
Listed across 8 collections	Johann Arndt (d. 1621), Abraham Calov (d. 1686), Johann Conrad Dannhauer (d. 1666), Conrad Dieterich (d. 1639)
Listed across 7 collections	Friedrich Balduin (d. 1627), Balthasar Meisner (d. 1626)
Listed across 6 collections	Georg Albrecht (d. 1647), Johann Binck (b. 1586), Georg Calixt (d. 1656), David Chytraeus (d. 1600), Johann Michael Dillherr (d. 1669), Salomo Glassius (d. 1656), Aegidius Hunnius (d. 1603), August Pfeiffer (d. 1698), Johann Adam Schertzer (d. 1683), Christian Scriver (d. 1693), Johann Tarnow (d. 1629)
Listed across 5 collections	Johannes Brenz (d. 1570), Johann Botsack (d. 1674), Johann Franz Buddeus (d. 1729), Hartmann Creide (born 1605), Martin Geier (d. 1680), Leonhard Hutter (d. 1616), Hieronymus Kromayer (d. 1670), Heinrich Müller (d. 1675), Philipp Jacob Spener (d. 1705), Johann Heinrich Ursinus (d. 1667), Johann Weißenmayer (b. 1637)
Listed across 4 collections	Felix Bidemback (d. 1612), Daniel Cramer (d. 1637), August Hermann Francke (d. 1727), Philipp Melancthon (d. 1560), Johann Heinrich Michaelis (d. 1738), Michael Walther the Elder (d. 1662)

compromising attitude of the Wittenberg theologians.²⁶ In Norwegian book collections, Chemnitz is often represented by his *Harmonia evangelica* and by his *De duabis naturis in Christo*, the latter a response

²⁶ Robert Kolb, “Martin Chemnitz,” in *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 140–153.

to the controversy over the omnipresence (ubiquity) of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. One of Chemnitz's adversaries was Johannes Brenz (d. 1570), who by adopting a particular type of Christology finally came to deny the doctrine of ubiquity. Brenz was also a prolific author: his *Catechism* was a bestseller on the early modern book market across Europe, from Italy to France and Poland. Brenz's *Catechism* was also translated into a range of languages, including Danish,²⁷ and like certain works by Chemnitz, occurs frequently in clerical book collections across Norway.

The presence of Lutheran orthodox theologians in clerical book collections is indicative of the profound impact of educational structures on the character of contemporary religious experience. The period of Lutheran orthodoxy that began with the *Book of Concord* in 1580 continued well into the eighteenth century and is distinguished by a focus on doctrinal theology that resulted in a specific engagement in polemics. This preoccupation is reflected by the incorporation of polemics into teaching at the University of Copenhagen (also cf. 2.1). Lutheran orthodoxy attempted first and foremost to preserve the evangelical legacy of Luther's reformation by defining a *Doctrina Evangelii* that was elaborated through a specific form of confession and a clear doctrinal position.²⁸

Lutheran orthodoxy evolved through three distinct phases: early orthodoxy, high orthodoxy and late orthodoxy.²⁹ Book distribution suggests that authors representing early and high orthodoxy were particularly important to clerics residing in Norway. Notable from the period of early orthodoxy were Aegidius Hunnius (d. 1603), Leonhard Hutter (d. 1616) and Balthasar Mentzer (d. 1627). Hutter, who together with Hunnius was responsible for the establishment of Lutheran orthodoxy at the University of Wittenberg, was the author of such well-known works as *Compendium locorum theologicorum*

²⁷ Hermann Ehmer, "Johannes Brenz," in *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 124–139.

²⁸ Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism: A Study of Theological Prolegomena* (St. Louis, MO and London: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 27–31.

²⁹ Aleksander Radler, *Kristendomens idéhistoria. Från medeltiden till vår tid* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1995), 176–183.

and *Loci communes theologici*; both these books reached a substantial audience among the Norwegian clergy. From high orthodoxy, Johann Gerhard (d. 1637), Johann Friederich Koenig (d. 1664) and Johann Andreas Quenstedt (d. 1688) had a substantial presence in clerical collections. A renowned theologian and prolific author at Jena University, Gerhard, who had been originally inspired by Johann Arndt, reached a Norwegian audience with two books in particular, his dogmatic work *Logi theologici* and his devotional treatise *Meditationes sacrae*. Several members of the clergy also possessed *Systema locorum theologicorum* by Abraham Calov (d. 1686), Johann Gerhard's nephew.

Representatives of late orthodoxy to appear in clerical book collections included Johannes Musaeus (d. 1681), Valentin Löscher (d. 1749) and Johann Conrad Dannhauer (d. 1666), identified by Robert D. Preus as one of the principal theologians of the late phase of Lutheran orthodoxy.³⁰ In opposition to the rather conservative environments of Wittenberg, Tübingen, Strasbourg, Greifswald and Giessen, the more moderate milieus at Jena, Leipzig, Rostock, Kiel and Helmsted also fostered figures whose work was disseminated in early modern Norway, typical of whom was Georg Calixt (d. 1656).³¹ Calixt, who was at the centre of the Syncretistic Strife, proposed that rapprochement between the Lutheran, Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches would be possible if they were to focus on spiritual and moral life rather than doctrine; Calixt and his doctrinal minimalism were vigorously opposed by Abraham Calov.

In addition to these better-known figures, several other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran theologians had their works widely disseminated in Norway. Many of these authors were held in high esteem in their own time, such as Friedrich Balduin (d. 1627), a prominent professor of theology who had studied at Wittenberg under Lyser and Hunnius and had married the daughter of the prominent Lutheran theologian Balthasar Meisner. Johann Tarnow (d. 1629), a professor of theology at Rostock, figures in several clerical collections, as do Martin Geier (d. 1680), Salomo Glassius (d. 1656), Johann Adam Schertzer (d. 1683), Felix Bidemback (b. 1564) and Valerius Herberger, a Lutheran preacher of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

³⁰ Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, 57–59.

³¹ Radler, *Kristendomens idéhistoria*, 178–179.

Certain works proved to be bestsellers. *Harmonia biblica* by Michael Walther the Elder (d. 1662), court preacher to Duchess Elisabeth of Braunschweig and Lunenburg and later superintendent in Zelle, appears in several clerical book collections, as do *Succus propheticus* by the theologian Samuel Rüling (d. 1626) and *Critica sacra* and *Dubia vexata* by August Pfeiffer (d. 1698), a student from Wittenberg who completed his career as superintendent in Lübeck. Similarly, Johann Binck (b. 1586), a Lutheran pastor in Herford, reached a certain audience among the Norwegian clergy through his *Mellificium theologicum*, and so too did Johann Botsack (d. 1674), a doctor of theology from Wittenberg, through his work *Promptuarium allegoriarum*, Johann Weihenmayer (b. 1637), a German preacher, and Georg Albrecht (d. 1647). Albrecht seems to have reached even beyond the clerical class: his work on blasphemy, which was translated into Danish (*Laas for munden*), also appeared in several lower-class book collections (cf. Chapter 3).

A cluster of authors may have reached an audience equivalent to or perhaps even greater than theologians such as Gerhard, Chemnitz and even Luther. Martin Opitz (d. 1639), a German author of numerous poems and psalms occurs in several clerical book collections and yet even this presence is superseded by that of the Lutheran orthodox and renowned hymn writer Johann Heermann (d. 1647). Of equal status with Gerhard and Chemnitz in terms of the distribution of their works was also the more ascetically minded theologian Hartmann Creide (b. 1605), a preacher in Friedberg whose *Nosse me & nosse te* was widely disseminated. So too was *Stern-Himmel* by Johannes Jan (Jahn, b. 1604), a book that appeared in several editions during the course of the seventeenth century. Various works by Conrad Dieterich (b. 1575), a superintendent in Ulm and one of the major Lutheran theologians of his own time, appear in our records: his catechism, *Institutiones catecheticae*, was widely disseminated in Lutheran countries, including Norway, as were his works on logic and rhetoric, notably *Analysis logica* and *Institutiones rhetoricae*. Another classic found in clerical book collections across Norway is *Arboretum biblicum* by Johann Heinrich Ursinus (d. 1667), headmaster at the Lutheran gymnasium in Mainz and later superintendent in Regensburg; Ursinus's widely distributed *Arboretum biblicum* was one of the first essays on biblical botany. A similar enterprise, *Historia animalium sacra*, a work on biblical zoology by Wolfgang Frantze (d. 1628), also reached a certain audience among the Norwegian clergy.

Few clear-cut Pietist authors appeared in clerical book collections, at least not prior to the mid-eighteenth century. In terms of book distribution among both clergy and ordinary laity, Pietism seems to have been a relatively late phenomenon, at least when the label is specifically applied to the works of Spener and Francke. However, works by Johann Franz Buddeus (d. 1729) and Johann Heinrich Michaelis (d. 1738), both of whom inclined towards Pietism, were disseminated among the broader Norwegian clergy before 1750, and even after: Buddeus in particular seems to have been one of the most important theologians in 18th century Norway, at least in terms of book distribution.³² A wide range of pre-Pietist devotional and mystical works also seem to have been admired by the clergy prior to 1750 and interestingly, the authors of these works were also held in high esteem by the popular laity, at least as far as we can tell from book distribution: both clergy and laity accessed the work of authors such as Heinrich Müller (*Himmlichen Liebes-Kus*), Johann Arndt (*Paradisets urtegaard, Wahres Christenthum*) and Christian Sriver (*Seelen-Schatz*). These authors, several of whose works were translated into Danish, were part of a literary tradition apparently shared by both groupings.

Book occurrences among the Norwegian clergy reflect their educational background, the religious climate of the twin monarchy and, not least, the importance of Germany as the heart of Lutheran Protestantism. This German influence was marked by several characteristics. First, a wide range of German Lutheran works were disseminated across book collections belonging to the clergy. Second, the majority of these works were written by Lutheran orthodox authors, most of whom wrote in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. That these works remained classics for a very long time implies that Lutheran orthodoxy remained just as important to the clergy as to the broader population over a long time (cf. Chapter 3). The clergy and laity did not, however, necessarily read the same authors and works; the former often purchased more sophisticated theological elaborations written in Latin or German. Some authors were, however, valued by both elements of Norwegian society, at least if we are to judge by the distribution of books by, for example, pre-Pietists such as Heinrich Müller and Christian Sriver.

³² Observations based on the registration of books in upper-middle-class libraries. For a list of these book owners and the specific book catalogues, see appendix 1.

4.3 *Books from the Netherlands and England*

Denmark-Norway had strong links in terms of both education and trade with two further geographical and political localities, namely, with England and the Netherlands. These networks were of particular importance to book distribution among the Norwegian clergy (as well as to that of the learned layers of society in general). These conditions provided Lutheran clerics residing in Norway with access to a range of works by Calvinist authors. Although the number of such works in the possession of clerics varied, if we take book distribution as our starting point, familiarity with Calvinism amongst most sections of the Norwegian clergy cannot be overlooked. In Trondheim, for instance, the works of more than fifty Calvinist authors are distributed across the various book collections (see table 7).

Although the Calvinist authors whose works were owned by the Norwegian clergy came from different countries, the bestsellers, in terms of book distribution, were Dutch. Particularly marked is the

Table 7: Concordance of Calvinist authors listed in Trondheim clerical inventories 1697–1743

Calvinist authors listed in the Trondheim clerical inventories 1697–1743 are: Jacques Abbadie, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Benedictus Aretius, Jacques Basnage, Wilhelm Baudartius, Theodore Beza, Pierre de Bosc, Heinrich Bullinger, Franciscus Burmann the Elder, Anton Bynaeus, Jean Calvin, Sebastian Castellio, Johannes Cocceius, Stephanus Curcellaeus, Charles Drelincourt the Elder, Jacob Gousset, Theodor Hase, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, Johannes Hoornbeck, Rudolph Hospinian, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Franciscus Junius, David Knibbe, Ludwig Lavater, Samuel des Marets, Augustin Marloratus, Johannes Mercerus, Wilhelm Momma, Philipp Mornaeus, Johannes Oecolampadius, Johann Friedrich Osterwald, David Pareus, Benedict Pictet, Johannes Piscator, Jean de la Placette, Amandus Polanus, Francis Ridder, Andreas Rivet, Anton de la Roche, Abraham Scultetus, Caspar Sibelius, Friedrich Spanheim the Younger, Friedrich Spanheim the Elder, Caspar Streso, Johann Stumpf, Salomon von Til, Daniel Tossanus, Immanuel Tremellius, Philipp Otto Vietor, Campegius Vitringa, Horatius Vitringa, Gisbert Voetius, Petrus Werenfels, Hermann Witsius, Christoph Wittich, Hieronymus Zanchius.

presence of Francis Ridder (d. 1683) and Caspar Sibelius (d. 1658); in some areas, the dissemination of these authors was as great as that of Luther himself.³³ In Trondheim, for instance, works by Sibelius occurred in at least six of the fourteen different clerical collections. One of the most frequently encountered books by Caspar Sibelius, a delegate to the Synod of Dort, is his collected work published in *folio* in Amsterdam in 1644.³⁴ Several works by Francis Ridder, a Reformed minister in Rotterdam whose reputation across Europe was so great that his contemporaries described him as “the great and very famous Franciscus Ridderus,”³⁵ could be found in clerical libraries, including *Huis-Catechisatie*. Ridder, who wrote one of the first full-length anti-atheistic treatises published in the early Enlightenment Dutch Republic, adhered to the Puritan-Pietist religiosity of the Voetians, who yearned for a reformation of morals linked to austerity in all matters of life.³⁶ Works by several Cocceians, the Voetians’ liberal counterparts, could also be found in the possession of Norwegian clergy, notably by Johannes Cocceius (d. 1669), Hermann Witsius (d. 1708), and Campegius Vitringa (d. 1722). Viewed in light of book dissemination, other Reformed authors who were also valued were Calvin himself—and his *Institutiones* in particular—Johannes Piscator (b. 1546), David Pareus (d. 1622) and Charles Drelincourt the Elder (b. 1596). Various translations of the Bible by Calvinists were also apparently held in high esteem by sections of the Norwegian clergy, examples of which are that by the Reformed convert from Judaism Immanuel Tremellius (d. 1580) and the annotated edition of the New Testament compiled by the Arminian Stephanus Curcellaeus (i.e. Étienne de Courcelles, d. 1659) at the Remonstrant seminary in Amsterdam.

Many of the books owned by the Norwegian clergy were written by English, or sometimes Scottish, authors. Some members of the clergy possessed a relatively large number of such works. The book collection belonging to Jens Kraft, the parson of Botne in Jarlsberg, south-eastern Norway, included in 1722 approximately one hundred volumes of English or Scottish origin.³⁷ Some of these works were in

³³ Dahl, “Questioning Religious Influence,” 136.

³⁴ AGL 4:560. AGL: *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Leipzig 1750–1751.

³⁵ “Den grooten en zeer beroemden Fransicius Ridderus,” see BWN 16:314–318. BWN: *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem 1852–1878.

³⁶ Ernestine van der Wall, “The Religious Context of the Early Dutch Enlightenment,” in *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic*, ed. Wiep van Bunge (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 39–45.

³⁷ Dahl, “Questioning Religious Influence,” 302–303.

Dutch translation—the writings of the Puritan cleric and divine Richard Sibbes (d. 1635), the Puritan Thomas Goodwin (d. 1679), Bishop Joseph Hall (d. 1656), and John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1694)—evidence also of the importance of the Netherlands to book distribution among the Norwegian clergy.

A number of authors seem to have enjoyed particular popularity across a broader swathe of the Norwegian clergy. Thomas Watson (d. 1686) was a Puritan preacher and theologian. The Anglican bishop and Puritan Lewis Bayly (d. 1631) found an audience in Norway for his popular devotional bestseller *Praxis Pietatis* (The Practice of Piety), a work with Roman Catholic overtones that was eventually translated into Danish. *Nosce te ipsum* (The Mystery of Self-deceiving) by the Puritan minister Daniel Dyke (d. 1616) was translated into Danish in 1706, although clerics in Norway did not necessarily possess the Danish-language authorised version. Several books by Presbyterian divine Richard Baxter (d. 1691) appear in Norwegian clerical book collections, and at least one of his works, *En fattig Mand's Huus-Bog* (The Poor Man's Family Book), was translated into Danish, a text that appears also to have found an audience amongst the ordinary laity (cf. Chapter 3). In the lists we also find works by the Welsh epigrammatist John Owen (d. 1622), some of whose writings were polemics against Roman Catholicism, and *Satyricon* and *Argenis*, with their satirical and political overtones, by John Barclay (d. 1621, cf. Chapter 8).

Also worthy of note is the relatively consistent distribution of books by Roman Catholic authors, the most frequently encountered of which had originated in various European countries. The Roman Catholic author with the widest distribution of works among the Norwegian clergy seems to have been the Franciscan mystic Diego de Estella (Didacus Stella, d. 1578), not least through his works *Commentarium über den Evangelisten Lucam* and *Libri 3 de contemnendis mundi vanitatibus*. Spiritual devotional works by Luis of Granada (d. 1588), a renowned Dominican friar, a range of publications of the prolific and popular author Jeremias Drexel (d. 1638) and works by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (d. 1621) also make their appearance in the clergy's collections.

In sum, a wide range of religious books ended up in clerical book collections across Norway, some of this literature being of Dutch, English or Scottish origin. Some of the books of specific devotional character, like those by Richard Baxter and Lewis Bayly, could also be

found in the possession of the popular laity, probably because they had been translated into Danish. However, the clergy also purchased more demanding books in Latin, German, English or Dutch, and when they drew from this international pool, many of the works they gathered in were of non-Lutheran content.

4.4 *Changes towards the end of the eighteenth century*

Book distribution changed during the course of the eighteenth century, in particular towards the end of the century. These changes affected the market for religious books among the general population (cf. 3.4) as well as among the clergy.³⁸ Immediately evident within the collections of Norwegian clergy is that the supremacy of Lutheran orthodox authors was on the retreat after 1750 in the face of a challenge by Pietist authors³⁹ who brought a new or supplementary range of bestselling authors onto the clergy's shelves with work by, for example, Spener, Johann Jacob Rambach (d. 1735) and Hans Egede (d. 1758). Moravian writings are also more frequently encountered in such collections, works that may have been a valued part of the broader Pietist curriculum. Pietist authors, however, were not the only newcomers; their texts were accompanied on the late eighteenth-century book market by works on natural religion, such as the writings of Christian Bastholm (d. 1819).⁴⁰ The substantial presence of Pietist authors did not mean, however, the exclusion of Lutheran orthodoxy; late eighteenth-century clerical libraries tended to contain a mixture of old and new, as such collections became more heterogeneous than they had been in earlier decades and centuries.

During this period the number of works on ecclesiastical history also increased, a form of learning that was a major tool in the early modern dispute over tradition. For Protestants, and for Melanchthon in particular, history was an essential instrument in the struggle to establish a viable Lutheran church tradition.⁴¹ Church history had long

³⁸ The more broad-scale changes to the book mass owned by the learned sections of the population will be covered in Chapters 8 and 9.

³⁹ See Francis Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun. Studier til norsk aandshistorie* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1916).

⁴⁰ Statistics based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book catalogues, see appendix 1.

⁴¹ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 166.

found a readership amongst Protestants and historical works could be found in clerical book collections in Norway prior to 1750 when some of the most frequently listed authors were Eusebius, Johannes Carion (*Chronica*), Hieronymus Kromayer (*Historia ecclesiastica*) and Johannes Sleidanus (*De statu religionis, De quattor monarchis*); Sleidanus's *De statu* was particularly successful on the European book market. Ecclesiastical history thrived anew, however, among clerics in the later eighteenth century, a process that coincided with a more broad scale interest in historical issues and their meaning for society (cf. Chapter 8). When the book collection of the prolific author and bishop of Christiania Frederik Nannestad was auctioned in 1778,⁴² 383 titles were included under the heading *Historia Sacra & Ecclesiastica in octavo* (see table 8, entries 71–454).⁴³

The works of ecclesiastical history that were included in late eighteenth-century book collections contained a similar mix of the old and the new. Carion, Sleidanus and Eusebius still appear repeatedly in late eighteenth-century book collections, but we also find a significant increase in the presence of more modern authors such as Joachim Lange (d. 1744, *Historia ecclesiastica*) and the above mentioned Johann Franz Buddeus (*Historia ecclesiastica veteris testamenti*), who served as theologians at Halle and Jena respectively. Scandinavian works on

Table 8: Types of religious works in the collection of Bishop Nannestad

Biblia, in octavo:

- * Biblia & Concordantiæ: 1–70
 - * Historia Sacra & Ecclesiastica: 71–454
 - * Theologia Dogmatica & Problematica: 455–594
 - * Theologia Moralis, Ascetica & Naturalis: 595–929
 - * Theologia Scholastica, Polemica & Mystica: 930–1233
 - * Theologia Catechetica, Exegetica & Critica: 1234–1542
 - * Theologia Homiletica: 1543–1796
 - * Jus Ecclesiasticum & Ritualia: 1797–1844
-

⁴² FDNI 6:56–59.

⁴³ *Index bibliothecae beati Friderici Nannestad: quae publica auctione venibit Christianiae die 6to Februarii 1778 in aedibus pastoris Laurentii Christiani Nannestad*; The National Library, Oslo.

ecclesiastical history also regularly appear in late eighteenth-century clerical book collections. The most popular seem to have been *Almindelig Kirke-Historie* by the Copenhagen professor and polymath Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754) and *Annales ecclesiae danicae* by Erik Pontoppidan (d. 1764), bishop of Bergen and later principal of the University of Copenhagen. *Det Siellandske Clerisie*, the book on clerics in Zealand by Danish vicar Detlev Zwergius (d. 1757) appears in most clerical book collections of the late eighteenth-century.⁴⁴ Christian history was not the only religious tradition to receive attention: historical introductions to Islam and Judaism regularly appear in the different collections, if in more limited numbers, as do various editions of the Quran.

Another change in the character of late eighteenth-century clerical book collections is the declining number of books in Latin in favour of works in German and in the vernacular (also cf. 8.3). At least from the perspective of language, it seems that the books owned by the clergy and by the broader population grew more alike. As the lower classes steadily read more books and as more books were printed in the vernacular, textual intersections with the clergy became more numerous. Yet even before 1750 there had been similarities between the book culture of the clergy and that of the general public. The two groupings had, for example, shared an interest in a number of specific devotional authors and works. Both groupings had also primarily accessed works by Lutheran orthodox authors, although before 1750 the clergy had tended to read books written in languages other than the vernacular. The declining significance of the long orthodoxy also set in within both sections of society at the same time.

The Norwegian clergy were broadly international in terms of their book acquisition; as a grouping they possessed a wide range of books many of which had not originated in Scandinavian countries. Despite this plurality, the character of the books owned by the Norwegian clergy was largely in keeping with the contemporary educational experience and religious climate. Of definitive importance to the nature of book collections was the presence of German Lutheran authors, not least those belonging to seventeenth-century orthodoxy, whether early, high or, less frequently, late orthodoxy. Only in the latter part of the

⁴⁴ Statistics based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book catalogues, see appendix 1.

eighteenth century do we more frequently encounter works engaging Pietism and natural religion. Books originating in the Netherlands and in England had, however, earlier promulgated a non-Lutheran spirituality. Although we do not know what role these last works played in the personal religious lives of their owners, that they were sometimes quite numerous could suggest that the confessional world of the Norwegian clergy was more open to non-Lutheran inspiration than one might have expected.

CHAPTER FIVE

BOOKS AND THE LIBERAL ARTS

5.1 *The artes training*

This chapter considers the distribution of books reviving the liberal arts among the educated Norwegian population. Why devote an entire chapter to the occurrences of such books? The answer lies in the fact that the *artes* curriculum became an imperative, although in many ways an auxiliary tool, of early modern education, making books belonging to this educational scheme a vital asset of the learned library. The main impulse behind this development, at least within the Lutheran tradition, was Melanchthon's stress on the liberal arts as the framework for all education: knowledge of Greek, for instance, was seen as obligatory for the study of theology and philosophy,¹ while knowledge of the past, textual criticism and eloquence were also regarded as important assets for the educated elite. The *artes* curriculum was also prominent in the Danish-Norwegian educational system, and only towards the end of the early modern period, when new educational institution arose, did the liberal arts begin to lose their hold. The liberal arts constituted a learned tradition whose influence on the world of books was enduring; associated books demonstrated the same longevity as did certain other types of work among the general population and the clerical elite (cf. Chapters 3 and 4).

Two institutions in particular came to serve as transmitters of the *artes* curriculum—Latin schools and the university. As we have seen Latin schools remained over a long period the only establishments to offer a wider curriculum to those pursuing a scholarly path.² As such,

¹ Olaf Pedersen, "Tradition and Innovation," in *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 462–463.

² Latin schools were called cathedral schools in pre-Reformation times because of their physical attachment to a town's main church. After the Reformation, these educational bodies came to be labelled 'Latin schools'. Some of the Latin schools, however, continued to refer to themselves as cathedral schools, and some of the schools bear this name even today; see Ivar Bjørndal, *Videregående opplæring i 800 år- med hovedvekt på*

Latin schools provided the preparatory foundations for Norwegian students who subsequently pursued university studies abroad. The particular post-Reformation Latin-school curriculum was outlined in the Church Ordinance of 1537/39 and strengthened by various acts passed during the seventeenth century, and it remained largely unchallenged until the late eighteenth century. According to the original ordinance, five levels (*lektier*) were scheduled as the norm for Latin schools. Although in Norway none of the sixteenth-century Latin schools offered more than four,³ with time, the levels were increased to five, and temporarily, to eight. To ensure the quality of the teaching, headmasters of major Latin schools would ideally be equipped with at least the equivalent of a master's degree; in smaller Latin schools, headmasters had to be in possession of a bachelor's degree.⁴ To ensure religious conformity, all teachers were to be trained in theology.

In the Latin schools, the *trivium* element of the educational curriculum was stressed; hence the schools' nickname 'trivial skoler'. Of the *septem artes liberales*, the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics was taught at the expense of the *quadrivium* subjects. The importance of the *trivium* with its stress on language had already been underlined by Melanchthon, who supported a curriculum with training in Latin in order to strengthen eloquence and whose views were to become decisive for the Danish-Norwegian school system.⁵ Grammar was the most important among the *trivium* subjects, and only at higher levels were rhetoric and dialectics incorporated.⁶ Of the *quadrivium* subjects, only music was generally adopted by the Latin-school curriculum, an indication of the role of music and singing in church services. Later in the period of this study, other subjects from the *quadrivium* were allowed into the system, although to varying degrees.

As noted above, the foundational Church Ordinance of 1537/39 laid out a curriculum that would be altered only slightly over the next

tiden etter 1950 (Halden: Forum bok, 2005), 19. For the sake of simplicity, these particular educational bodies will be referred to in this chapter as Latin schools.

³ Inger Ekrem, "Nordmenns bidrag til den nylatinske litteraturen fra 1537–1900," in *Antikken i norsk litteratur*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Asbjørn Aarseth (Bergen: Det norske institutt i Athen, 1993), 39.

⁴ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanning i Norge*, 125.

⁵ Kristian Jensen, *Latinskolens dannelse. Latinundervisningens indhold og formål fra reformationen til enevælden* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1982), 11–15.

⁶ Jensen, *Latinskolens dannelse*, 62.

centuries. According to the ordinance, level one consisted of the reading of the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, and knowledge of the baptismal promises and the Eucharist. This basic knowledge of Scripture was framed by an intense focus on the Latin language, and once reading skills had been acquired, Cato's *Disticha* (moral maxims from antiquity) and Aelius Donatus's classical grammar (often referred to as '*Donat*'), were studied.⁷ At level two, Melanchthon's grammar was introduced, and etymology and grammar were learned by studying *Aesop's Fables*. Also important were the *nomenclator* and *colloquia*, in order to ensure knowledge of Latin words, phrases and grammatical rules. In this respect, Petrus Mosellanus's *Paedologia* and Erasmus's *Colloquia familiaria* played a central role. At level three, the focus on *exposito* (translating or interpreting Latin words) was superseded by *constructio* (learning syntax). In this process, Melanchthon's grammar was to be learned by heart, and classical authors such as Terence, Julius Caesar, Plautus and Cicero were studied. At level four, attained once the student could speak and write a minimum of Latin, further studies of Melanchthon's grammar were to be followed by a wider reading of Vergil, Ovid and Cicero, the last through his work *De officiis*; rhetoric and dialectics were also introduced. At level five, the focus on Latin language continued, alongside an introduction to the Greek language, reflecting the importance of the biblical languages to general education.⁸

During the seventeenth century, and particularly as a result of decrees passed in 1604, 1632 and 1656, the structure of the Latin-school education was elaborated. The inculcation of Lutheran doctrine within the framework of a pervasive humanist-inspired emphasis on language and eloquence remained the main feature of early modern Latin-school education. The various acts were not necessarily innovative; rather, they provided clearer specifications for the existing curriculum as well as proposals for new books.⁹ By the act of 1604, for instance, Bishop Resen's abridged version of Melanchthon's grammar, *Epitome parvae grammaticae*, was introduced at level two. At level four, a wider range of classical texts was proposed, with Aldus Manutius and Corderius to be read alongside Cato, Erasmus, Cicero and *Aesop's*

⁷ Jensen, *Latinskolens dannelse*, 51–54.

⁸ Jensen, *Latinskolens dannelse*, 53–61.

⁹ Kolsrud, *Presteutdanning i Noreg*, 132.

Fables.¹⁰ Also introduced at level four was the reading of the comedies of Cicero and Terence, and at level five, these were to be read continually alongside the writings of Ovid, Vergil, Propertius, Juan Luis Vives and Erasmus, the last through his *Adagia*. A stronger emphasis on the teaching of Greek and Hebrew is also evident in the various seventeenth-century regulations of Latin school life.

Also introduced into the seventeenth-century educational system was the use of schoolbooks written by domestic authors on topics such as grammar, rhetoric and logic, some of which were but revised editions of earlier classics.¹¹ Only few of these books were written in the vernacular, although according to the 1632 revision, Luther's Small Catechism translated into Danish was to be read at level two. As to the topics of these Danish-authored works, they were mostly books on Latin language and grammar, such as *Epitome grammaticae latinae* by Jens D. Jersin, *Aurora latinitatis*, a Latin glossary, by Thomas Bang and *Colloquia* by Stephen Hansen Stephanius. Some of these authors became highly influential: the theologian Thomas Bang's manual *Aurora latinitatis*, for example, first published in 1638, was used in Latin school education for about 150 years.¹² Although natural science tended to be given only limited space within the seventeenth-century Latin-school curriculum, manuals by domestic authors gained a significant foothold at a relatively early stage: works on metaphysics, ethics, rhetoric and physics by Caspar Bartholin the Elder (d. 1629) would remain classics for a century; Bartholin's *Physica*, for instance, was purchased by the Christiania Latin School for the last time in 1688.¹³

The act of 1739 made only small adjustments to previous outlines. The main aim remained to teach pupils to read and speak Latin and to understand a certain amount of Greek and Hebrew, as well as to inculcate a basic knowledge of Scripture. Luther's Small Catechism remained at the core of religious education. In their language training, pupils were to start reading *Donat* and *Aurora latinitatis*, while at the upper levels, the art of verse writing was to be taught by means of authors such as Eutropius (*Brevarium historiae romanae*), Phaedrus (*Fables*),

¹⁰ Jensen, *Latinskolens dannelse*, 113–115.

¹¹ Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 126–127.

¹² A. E. Erichsen, *Bergens Kathedralskoles Historie* (Bergen: John Griegs Bogtrykkeri, 1906), 107.

¹³ Ernst Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholae Osloensis. Oslo katedralskoles gamle bibliotek* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 2002), 16–23.

Terence, Cornelius Nepos, Vergil, Cicero, Horace, Curtius, Livy and Ovid; these texts were also required by the Latin-school act of 1775.¹⁴ Greek was to be taught not only from manuals, but also from the New Testament and selections of Homer's *Iliad*, while the teaching of Hebrew was based on reading of Genesis.

Also scheduled for incorporation into the lower levels of Latin school education were subjects such as history, geography and basic mathematics, as well as moral philosophy, logic, geometry, physics, technology and *jurisprudentia danicae*. Most of these latter subjects, however, were abandoned by the Latin school reform of 1775,¹⁵ and only history and geography appear to have been taught at a more general level in the various eighteenth-century Latin schools: for the former Ludvig Holberg's *Synopsis historiae universalis* seems to have been favoured; for the latter Holger Jacobæus's (Oliger Jacobaeus) *Compendium geographicum*.¹⁶ An alumnus of a Latin school starting at university in the wake of the act of 1739 would in principle know Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammar and syntax, and would have read Eutropius, Phaedrus, Terence, Cornelius Nepos, Vergil, Cicero, Horace, Curtius, Livy and Ovid, as well as Homer, Isocrates, Pythagoras, Plutarch and Herodotus. He would also be capable of writing an essay and verse in Latin, and would have a knowledge of the catechism and the Bible, including its psalms and prayers.¹⁷

This was the ideal. In practice, the education offered at different Latin schools could vary a number of respects. First, the number of levels offered was not consistent, dependent as it was on financial resources and teaching skills. Second, the quality of the teaching and range of subjects could differ between schools, as is evident in the steady downplaying of *quadrivium* subjects; if books were difficult to acquire, it was up to the school in question to find replacement material. Such shortcomings contributed to the upsurge of private Latin schools. In Bergen, for instance, a private Latin school established in the eighteenth century was considered better than the public Latin school and attracted many students.¹⁸

The shortcomings of the Latin-school system were probably one reason why several Latin schools only attracted pupils from the lower

¹⁴ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 121.

¹⁵ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 121–123.

¹⁶ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 136.

¹⁷ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 176–177.

¹⁸ See Erichsen, *Bergens Kathedralskoles Historie*.

social ranks. Wealthier pupils would with increasing frequency choose private teachers instead, and not even the law of 1756 requiring future alumni to be equipped with a minimum of knowledge before entering the Latin-school system would curb this trend.¹⁹ In the period 1732–1787, therefore, only 65 per cent of all students admitted to university came from Latin schools, whereas as many as 27 per cent had been educated by private teachers.²⁰ As a system, however, the basic *trivium* profile of the Latin schools remained largely unchanged throughout the early modern period, this rigidity a consequence of the Latin schools' continued role in providing preparatory training for university students, most of them targeting theology.

Students joining the University of Copenhagen continued in the *artes* tradition of the Latin schools. The first step in a student's career was, in theory, to join the Faculty of Philosophy in order to prepare for admission to the higher faculties of theology, medicine, and law (cf. 4.1). In order to be accepted into the Faculty of Philosophy, students were examined in their familiarity with the *artes* curriculum and the *trivium* element in particular; the subjects for examination occasionally changed over the period considered by this study.²¹

Once admitted into the lower Faculty of Philosophy, a student encountered more thorough training in the liberal arts; the *trivium* of grammar, dialectics and rhetoric was deemed to be of major importance, as were various subjects within the *quadrivium*. The pre-eminent position of the *trivium* subjects is evident in the distribution

¹⁹ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 143.

²⁰ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 175.

²¹ A future university student was generally tested in his Latin skills and in his understanding of passages from the New Testament as well as in basic articles of faith as elaborated in Luther's Small and Large Catechisms; see Kolsrud, *Presteutdaningi i Noreg*, 133–134. During the 1620s, an essay written in Latin was to be completed and approved, and by 1630, an oral examination held before four professors of the Faculty of Philosophy was also required. During the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of oral subjects expanded. Between 1732 and 1775, for instance, entrants to university were examined in their knowledge of the catechism and *Loci communes* as well as in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, logic, physics, metaphysics, ethics, history, geography, geometry, arithmetic and astronomy; see Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 110. These examinations were not necessarily very demanding, as Latin-school knowledge was often based on repetition and learning by heart. The tradition of an entrance examination to university, often called the *examen artium*, was not curtailed until the *trivium* schools themselves took over the function; this shift happened in Copenhagen in 1850 and in Christiania in 1883. Students were also supposed to produce a certificate from their Latin school indicating that they had achieved the required levels, and only Latin schools with a minimum of five levels could grant access to the university.

of professorial chairs enumerated in 1537–39: philosophy received eight chairs, most of which were used to support the teaching of Latin grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, supplemented by chairs appointed to teach Greek, Hebrew, mathematics (including astronomy), physics and music. Of the non-philosophical positions, only physics, which included natural philosophy, gained any greater significance. As to the curriculum, professors in Latin were to teach etymology, syntax and prosody, preferably according to Thomas Linacre's grammar and Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*; students would subsequently read Melanchthon, Terence, Plautus and Erasmus. Dialectics was based on Melanchthon, to be followed up by the reading of Cicero, Vergil, Ovid and Livy, and rhetoric was based on the writings of Quintilian, Cicero, Erasmus and Horace. In Greek, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Sophocles and Euripides were given prominence, as were the writings of Aristotle and the letters of Paul.²²

Some slight alterations occurred during the seventeenth century. The two chairs formerly devoted to Latin grammar were converted into one chair of mathematics, and one chair for the teaching of philology, philosophy and history.²³ In 1635, geography and history (both local and foreign) were allocated to the chair of rhetoric; not until 1732 were history and geography finally given their own chair alongside the by then remaining six chairs of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and rhetoric, higher mathematics, lower mathematics, and logic and metaphysics.²⁴ Following this development, less time was devoted to Latin, and more time was allocated to *quadrivium* subjects. Within the philosophical curriculum, however, Aristotle's position remained by and large unchallenged throughout most of the early modern period.²⁵

Knowledge of this *artes* curriculum would ideally lead to the award of a bachelor's degree, a tradition substituted by the establishment of an obligatory *examen philosophicum* in 1675. In principle, it was not possible to join the three higher faculties of theology, medicine, and law before this exam had been passed. Nevertheless, many students deliberately skipped the *artes* training in favour of focusing on more financially remunerative theological studies, one of the reasons for the introduction of the obligatory exam in 1675, which would ensure that

²² Grane and Jensen, *Det filosofiske fakultet* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1992), 90–92.

²³ Grane and Jensen, *Det filosofiske fakultet*, 16.

²⁴ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 103–104.

²⁵ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 40.

students arriving at the higher faculties were equipped with at least a minimum of *artes* training.²⁶

Complaints ran high throughout the early modern period about both the quality of the university teaching and the quality of the students themselves in a system based mainly on rote learning. Although early eighteenth-century Pietists put a stronger emphasis on the value of understanding in the educational setting, the learning-by-heart tradition remained very strong,²⁷ which meant that students did not necessarily develop a more profound understanding of what they read. Similarly, much of the examination was very simple, and did not necessarily function as intended.²⁸ By and large, the educational system tended to favour the *trivium* component of the *artes* curriculum, and only with time were more subjects from the *quadrivium* introduced; the reasons for the dominance of the *trivium* are to be found in the character of the philosophical faculty as a preparatory school for theology. Although its curriculum remained somewhat limited, this preparatory system helped mould the book world of the educated layer of the early modern population.

5.2 *The artes reception*

The impact of the *artes* training is attested by book collections belonging to certain groups educated within this system, such as Latin school teachers and clerics. In the Latin schools themselves, larger libraries were generally established relatively late. The library of the Kristiansand Latin School was founded in 1680, but as late as in 1775, it was equipped with only two books, as well as some maps and four globes in “bad condition.”²⁹ The Bergen Latin School established a library

²⁶ Students taking the *examen philosophicum* were examined on a wide range of topics throughout the early modern period. A protocol from 1676 shows that students were to be tested in grammar, logic, physics, ethics, geometry, *principiis arithmeticae* and *spæricæ*; the category ‘grammar’ signalled the translation and explanation of a Latin and a Greek text according to the rules of grammar and rhetoric. From 1732 historical knowledge was also tested, as was a general knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, geography, physics and mathematics. Only in 1775 were major alterations to the *examen philosophicum* passed: the examination, now centred only on mathematics, physics, and theoretical and practical philosophy, was to be sat after about eight months of study; see Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 188–191.

²⁷ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 159.

²⁸ Grane and Jensen, *Det filosofiske fakultet*, 51.

²⁹ Nicolai Wergeland, *Christiansands Beskrivelse* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), 195.

only in 1750.³⁰ One of the reasons for such late foundations is surely the fact that Latin schools depended on private donations for the establishment of libraries: only in the school law of 1775 (“forordning, angaaende Skoele-Væsenets Forbedring vdi de publice Latinske Skoeler”) was it for the first time stated that local public authorities were to provide books for Latin-school libraries.³¹

The first Latin-school library to be founded, however, was that in Christiania, which deems 1649 the date of its foundation, for in that year the library registered its first book donation.³² The prominence of the *trivium* in general education is reflected in the donation, made by the parson Christen Staffenssøn Bang, of *Dictionarium* by Ambrogio Calepino (d. 1510), *Lexicon græco-latinum* by Johannes Scapula (d. ca. 1600), and *Etymologicum latinum-danicum* by Poul Jensen Colding (d. 1640). As a result of the devastating fire that swept through the school building in 1686, we know little about the Christiania Latin School library and although larger private donations were made to the library in 1719 and 1734, no precise record of their content has survived. We do know, however, the titles of specific books used in the school's teaching, works that reflect the classical legacy: Donatus's grammar and writings by Terence, Plautus, and Cicero (*Epistolae*). At the more advanced levels, Vergil, Ovid (*Metamorphose*) and Cicero (*De officiis*) were employed alongside Melanchthon, whose *Dialectica* and *Rhetorica* were used in the teaching of Latin style. The school's concern to teaching the *quadrivium* was reflected by its possession of two globes *coelestis* and *terrestris*, of the solar system and the earth; these globes had been made by the Dutch cartographer, astronomer and globe-maker Willem Jansson Blaeu.³³

Other sources also testify to the importance of certain works in the Latin-school educational setting. When Jens Nielsen (d. 1600), headmaster of the Christiania Latin School, sent his son to study at the Hamar Latin School, he equipped the young man with books tied to the *trivium* legacy, such as *Colloquia* (rehearsals in Latin) by Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540), *Colloquia* by Corderius (i.e. Mathurin Cordier, d. 1564) and *Grammatica* by Hermann Torrentius (d. 1520).³⁴ Jens Nielsen

³⁰ Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholæ Osloensis*, 34.

³¹ Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholæ Osloensis*, 38.

³² Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholæ Osloensis*, 33.

³³ Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholæ Osloensis*, 43.

³⁴ Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholæ Osloensis*, 29.

probably also wrote the first school book to be composed by a Norwegian, namely, *Epideigma seu specimen commentationis meditationisque sacrarum literarum* (1583). This book, an explanation of Genesis 1, covered themes from natural science and history, including the creation of the world, astronomy, names of countries in Europe, and lists of animals, plants, metals and so forth, topics that belonged to the *quadrivium*.

Some private book collections also reflect the importance of the *trivium* in intellectual life. The library belonging to the headmaster of the Christiania Latin School Søren Monrad (d. 1788) consisted of about 1,500 volumes covering a wide range of topics and included several classical manuals, the majority of which were in *octavo*.³⁵ In total, at least sixty different classical authors were listed in Monrad's collection (see table 9), many of them represented by several works. Monrad also possessed some of the standard dictionaries or lexicons of his period, written by authors such as Calepino, Scapula and Stephen Hansen Stephanius.

Another Latin-school headmaster, Tobias Jensen Friis (d. 1725), who served at the Kristiansand Latin School prior to the reform of 1739, has also left records for his book collection. Although many of the

Table 9: Classical authors in Monrad's collection

Classical authors listed in Monrad's collection are: Achilles Tatius, Aelius Herodianus, Aphthonius, Appianus, Apulejus, Aulus Gellius, Avianus, Cato, Cicero, Claudian, Claudius Rutilius, Cornelius Nepos, Curtius, Decimus Magnus Ausonius, Dictys Cretensis, Eutropius, Flavius Cresconius Corippus, Florus, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Horace, Iamblichus, Isocrates, Julius Caesar, Julius Firmicus Maternus, Justin, Juvenal, Livy, Lactantius, Lucian, Lucretius, Lycophron, Macrobius, Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Minucius Felix, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Petronius, Phaedrus, Pindar, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Polybius, Pomponius Mela, Pythagoras, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Sextus Pompey, Statius, Sulpicius Severus, Tacitus, Terence, Valerius Flaccus, Varro, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Velleius Paterculus, Vergil, Xenophon.

³⁵ *Catalogus librorum quos, dum vivebat, possedit vir Doctrina praestans & humanitate Severinus Seerup Monrad, magister artium & scholae Christianiensis rector, qui auctionis publicae lege venibunt Christianiae in aedibus scholae dicatis die 16 & sequ. Junii A. 1789*; The National Library, Oslo.

headmasters of the eighteenth century were relatively learned according to the standards of the time, Jensen gained a reputation that suggests he was an exception to this rule. A former teacher who was promoted to headmaster in 1691, a position in which he remained until his death, Jensen took part in several lawsuits and was accused of beating his pupils so badly that the children of wealthier parents were removed from the school.³⁶ Charged by the local bishop with pronouncing Danish, as well as Latin, Greek and Hebrew, so badly that students were unable to understand him, Jensen was asked to prove his language skills before an advisory board. When he refused, he was temporarily removed from his position.³⁷ As the school deteriorated during Jensen's tenure, few students joined its upper levels and only nine fulfilled the requirements for admission to the university.³⁸

Despite being a headmaster of little reputation, Jensen possessed a book collection containing around 200 volumes.³⁹ Many of these books were related to the *trivium* element of the Latin-school curriculum, readily evident in the presence of eighteen different classical authors in Jensen's book collection (see table 10), many of them annotated by early modern scholars such as Jan Gruter (d. 1627), Cornelius Schrevel (d. 1664) and Johannes Minelli (d. 1683). Many of the classical authors in his library, Vergil, Seneca, Horace, Curtius, Plautus and Cicero for example, were represented by more than one work.

Additional works in Jensen's book collection were also relevant to the *trivium* of grammar, logic and rhetoric, and to grammar in particular, including various introductions to the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. Like Monrad, Jensen possessed several books by Ambrogio

Table 10: Classical authors in Jensen's book collection

Various classical authors were listed in Jensen's book collection, namely, Apulejus, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Curtius, Herodotus, Hesiod, Horace, Julius Caesar, Justin, Juvenal, Persius, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Vergil, Tacitus and Terence. An edition of *Aesop's Fables* was also included.

³⁶ Karl Leewy, *Kristiansands bebyggelse og befolkning i eldre tider* (Kristiansand: Christianssands sparebank- historiefondet, 1982), 23–25.

³⁷ Leewy, *Kristiansands bebyggelse*, 71.

³⁸ Wergeland, *Christiansands Beskrivelse*, 194.

³⁹ Kristiansand stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, auction protocol number 1 (1724–1737), folio 69b–73a.

Calepino as well as Johannes Scapula's *Lexicon græco-latinum*. Dictionaries, nomenclatures, and grammars of Latin, Greek and Hebrew were the work of, among others, Johannes Leusden (d. 1699), Clenardus (i.e. Nicolas Cleynaerts, d. 1542), Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (d. 1629), Heinrich Opitz (d. 1712), Gerhard Johann Vossius (d. 1649), Johann Amos Comenius (d. 1670), Wilhelm Schickard (d. 1635), and Reinerus Neuhausius (d. 1679): many of these authors, such as Vossius, Neuhausius, Buxdorf the Elder and Leusden, were responsible for several works in the collection. Works of Danish origin were those written by philologists such as Thomas Bang (on the Latin language) and Christian Nold (on the Hebrew language).

In accordance with the *artes curriculum*, Jensen also possessed at least eleven books on logic, a large number that included authors such as Caspar Bartholin the Elder (d. 1629), Christian Nold (d. 1683), Abraham Calov (d. 1686), Christian Weise (d. 1708, *Doctrina logica* and *Nucleus logicae*), Franco Burgersdijck (d. 1635) and the seventeenth-century philosopher Jacob Saur (*Syntagmatis logici*). We find listed works on metaphysics (Andreas Frommen, d. 1666) and ethics (Aristotle), several publications on philosophy by Caspar Bartholin the Elder and by his son Thomas Bartholin, Descartes' philosophy prefaced by Antoine le Grand and medical texts, such as Thomas Brown's *Religio medici*. Contemporary interest in geography was picked up in two books by the German geographer and historian Philipp Cluver (d. 1623), both referred to as *Geographia. Compendium geographicum*, a commonly used Latin school manual by Holger Jacobæus, a Dane, was also included.

The *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy were also present in Jensen's collection, the last two particularly evident. Jensen owned *Arithmetica* by Jørgen From, a seventeenth-century professor of mathematics, logic and rhetoric at Copenhagen and Euclid's mathematical and geometric treatise *Elementa*. Between thirty and forty works in this collection were of religious content, including books of instructional character such as catechisms. As was typical of this period, most of these were edited or written by German Lutherans (Friedrich Balduin, Felix Bidemback, Johannes Brenz, Abraham Calov, Conrad Dieterich, Jacob Heerbrand, Leonhard Hutter, Luther, Balthasar Mentzer and Spener) or Danes (Jens Bircherod, Jesper Brochmand, Hans Wandal and Peder Winstrup).

The *artes* legacy attested in the book collections of the schoolmasters Monrad and Jensen is also evident in collections belonging to

clerics. Of the Norwegian clergy, the upper ranks at least were largely all trained within the same system. The impact of *trivium*-related topics is, for instance, noticeable in clerical book collections from the county of Jarlsberg in south-eastern Norway.⁴⁰ Altogether, twenty-three clerical book collections were recorded in Jarlsberg inventories in the period 1704–1738, and these collections included at least thirty-one classical authors (see table 11) whose works were often used as tools for teaching language and eloquence. Many of these authors had several works in a single collection and Cicero, Horace and Curtius seem to have enjoyed a particular vogue in Jarlsberg. The translation of classical texts into the vernacular, as had apparently happened in several instances in these collections, was typical of the eighteenth century. Several of the classical works registered in Jarlsberg clerical inventories had been annotated by humanists such as Gerhard Johann Vossius.

The importance of grammar and languages such as Latin, Greek and Hebrew, all part of the *trivium* training, is clearly evident in the clerical book collections registered in the county of Jarlsberg. Jarlsberg book collectors seem to have given preference to certain individual authors, such as the already mentioned Italian lexicographer Calepino, the Flemish grammarian Clenardus and the Silesian scholar Laurentius Corvinus (d. 1527, *Ianua*). Three Danish philologists, Thomas Bang, Stephen Hansen Stephanius and Ole Borch (d. 1690), the last of whom also wrote on chemistry and related subjects, similarly seem to have been particular well-liked.

Most of the philologists occurring across the clerical book collections in Jarlsberg, however, were of German or Dutch origin. Judging

Table 11: Classical authors in Jarlsberg book collections, 1704–1738

Classical authors in Jarlsberg book collections 1704–1738 are: Aphthonius, Aulus Gellius, Catullus, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Curtius, Dictys Cretensis, Flavius Josephus, Herodotus, Homer, Horace, Isocrates, Julius Caesar, Juvenal, Livy, Lucian, Martial, Ovid, Plautus, Plutarch, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Sophocles, Suetonius, Sulpicius Severus, Tacitus, Terence, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Vergil.

⁴⁰ See Dahl, “Questioning Religious Influence,” 306, 327.

by the frequency with which their texts appear on the lists, especially admired authors were Johannes Leusden, Wilhelm Schickard, Johannes Buxdorf the Elder, Georg Pasor (d. 1637), David Clodius (d. 1684), Petrus Cunaeus (d. 1638), Cornelius Schrevel (d. 1664), Adriaan Reland (d. 1718) and Johannes van den Driesche (i.e. Drusius, b. 1550). Many of these writers were orientalist (Drusius, Clodius, Cunaeus, Johannes Buxdorf the Elder, Johannes Leusden, Wilhelm Schickard and Adriaan Reland); Reland was renowned for his *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* on the religion of Islam. Certain humanists also have a marked presence in Jarlsberg collections, notably Aldus Manutius (d. 1515), Gerhard Johann Vossius, Marcus Antonius Muretus (i.e. Marc-Antoine de Muret, d. 1585), Justus Lipsius (d. 1606) and Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540); Erasmus too was held in high esteem in Jarlsberg, as is made evident by the inclusion of a range of his works, including *Colloquia familiaria* and *Adagia* (collection of proverbs).

The reputation of some texts in these collections was not limited to Jarlsberg alone. Classic Latin-school manuals such as those written by Clenardus, Calepino or Scapula could be found across Norwegian collections. *Prosodia* by Henricus Smetius (d. 1614), a dictionary that included references to, as well as the words of, a wide range of classical authors, is listed in a good number of clerical collections, as were *Ianua* and *Orbis pictus* by the famous pedagogue Johann Amos Comenius (d. 1670). The renown of books by Clenardus and Smetius, for example, was replicated also in other European countries, as the proliferation of their works attests. Calepino's dictionary, first published in 1502, had the longest lifespan of any dictionary in the early modern period; by 1785, this work had gone through at least 150 editions.⁴¹ Conrad Gesner's *Onomasticon*, another dictionary, also appears in various Norwegian books collections. The locations in which these books, often with medieval antecedents, are listed suggest that they found a broad readership amongst educated Norwegian officials. Other works of similar type to appear repeatedly in clerical book collections were Erasmus's *Adagia* and Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae* (Theater of Human Life); this latter book, originally published in 1565, presented several thousand examples of human behaviour from around the world.⁴²

⁴¹ Ann Blair, "Dictionaries and Encyclopedias," in *Europe 1450-1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, vol. 2, ed. Jonathan Dewald (New York: Thomson Gale, 2004), 140-144.

⁴² Blair, "Dictionaries and Encyclopedias," 142.

Hebraists and orientalists such as Buxtorf the Elder and Leusden were also valued by many Norwegian clerics, and not only those in Jarlsberg. In various learned environments over the course of the early modern period, Hebrew was put on a par with Greek and Latin and entire schools of Christian Hebraists emerged. Johannes Buxtorf the Elder in particular was responsible for establishing Hebrew studies as a recognised academic discipline.⁴³ The early modern application of philological methods to biblical texts led to a wave of comparative religious studies characterised by the abandonment of the polemical tone typical of earlier studies.⁴⁴ The role of early modern philologists in editing ancient texts and commenting on their learning was, however, superseded in the historical sciences mainly by philosophers, as world history came to be interpreted in terms of natural order rather than divine wisdom.⁴⁵

Although Hebraists had a presence at the University of Copenhagen even before the Reformation, Hebrew and oriental languages were assigned only limited space in the educational curriculum prior to the first half of the eighteenth century. Subsequently the attention given to these subjects within an educational context increased, although not markedly;⁴⁶ in this respect developments in Denmark differed from those in the rest of Europe where such studies were given more attention. The high number of books on the Hebrew language listed across the various learned book collections, however, indicates that the dissemination of this particular type of knowledge was not necessarily bound to university lectures given at Copenhagen, but rather to personal interest.⁴⁷

Dictionaries written by vernacular lexicographers such as Thomas Bang, Stephen Hansen Stephanius and Poul Jensen Colding

⁴³ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996), 3. Some of Buxtorf the Elder's works were compiled by his son Johannes the Younger.

⁴⁴ Guy G. Stroumsa, "John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry," *History of Religions* 41/1 (2001): 1–2.

⁴⁵ Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "New Structures of Knowledge," in *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 524–528.

⁴⁶ Grane and Jensen, *Det filosofiske fakultet*, 481–494.

⁴⁷ Languages were not only taught in the university setting. The future statesman Frederik Rostgaard (d. 1745) learned to speak Latin, French, German and English as one of a circle of students who gathered at the home of university professor Hector Gottfried Masius; see Grane and Jensen, *Det filosofiske fakultet*, 168–171.

(see table 12) occurred with increasing frequency in private libraries and appear to have retained their appeal across generations. On the rise in late eighteenth-century learned book collections were works dealing with the Danish language,⁴⁸ which reflects contemporary Danish-language debates and the intertwined interest in cultural heritage and antiquarianism. The collection owned by Peter Tønder Nordahl, a legal official in Trondheim, included as many as ten works that dealt solely with Danish grammar and orthography.⁴⁹ One of works of this type to appear most frequently in late eighteenth-century book collections is *Forslag om det Danske Sprogs indførsel i Frankrige* (Proposal for the Introduction of the Danish Language into France), written by Caspar Peter Rothe (b. 1724), a work aiming for the purification of the Danish language.⁵⁰ Books dealing with Greenlandic and Icelandic grammar were also present in many of the late eighteenth-century learned libraries and with increasing frequency we also encounter grammatical works for modern languages such as French and English. Grammars for biblical languages were most likely to be present in clerical libraries.

The growing interest in geography and history is also evident from clerical book collections inventoried during the eighteenth century. In Jarlsberg, for instance, *Introductio in universam geographiam* by Philipp Cluver, a standard geographical textbook, seems to have been particularly welcome. The increasing number of such works in learned book collections is indicative of their subjects' stronger presence within the educational system and also of the growing interest in the external world during the period of the Enlightenment (cf. Chapters 8 and 9).

Book distribution within collections suggests that after grammar, logic and philosophy were the most influential branches of the *artes* curriculum. In most Norwegian regions, Aristotle's works on logic seem to have enjoyed a pre-eminent position throughout most of the early modern period, alongside the writings of early modern philosopher-logicians working within the peripatetic tradition. Frequently

⁴⁸ Observations based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book catalogues, see appendix 1.

⁴⁹ *Fortegnelse over afd. Justiceraad og President Nordahls efterladte bøger, hvilke ved offentlig Auction bortselges... i Hr. Krigscommissaire Wibes gaard her i Tronhiem* (1790); The National Library, Oslo.

⁵⁰ DBL 14:355–357.

Table 12: Bestselling early modern lexicographers of Danish origin

Poul Jensen Colding (1581–1640) studied at Copenhagen, Prague and Wittenberg and obtained his master's degree in 1604. In 1605, he was appointed headmaster of the Latin school in Aalborg, and in time also served as vicar on Zealand. Colding was also attached to the school in Herlufsholm. He became renowned as a church historian and lexicographer, and from this latter field of study stems his highly acclaimed work *Etymologicum latino-danicum*.⁵¹ The main focus of study for Stephen Hansen Stephanius (1599–1650) were the interlinked fields of philology and vernacular history. Stephanius obtained his bachelor's degree in philosophy in 1618 and while journeying abroad studied at Rostock and Leiden; while in Leiden he made contact with Gerhard Johann Vossius and Daniel Heinsius. Stephanius wrote several works on Danish history and was appointed professor of *eloquentiae* at the Sorø Academy in 1629. *Colloquia familiaria* by Stephanius, who was in charge of the printing of new schoolbooks, appeared in 1633 and was followed by dictionaries such as *Nomenclator latino-danicus*, which became a highly respected Latin-school manual.⁵² Thomas Bang (1600–1661) studied at Copenhagen, Rostock, Franeker and Wittenberg, and specialised in theology, oriental languages and Latin literature. In 1630, Bang was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Copenhagen. He later became librarian for the university book collection, and, an eager book collector himself, owned rare Norse literature. In 1652, Bang was appointed professor of theology. Despite being an orientalist, Bang wrote several books on the Latin language; the most famous, which also became a classic in Latin-school training, was his *Aurora latinitatis*, first published in 1638. This dictionary contained explanations of words and syntax, and it included twelve Latin rehearsals. Bang's renown also rested on his *Coelum orientis et prisca mundi* (1657), in which he discussed the origin of alphabetic writing.⁵³

present in collections of Norwegian clerics were Christoph Scheibler (d. 1653), Jakob Martini (d. 1649), Georg Gutke (i.e. Gutkuis, d. 1634), Christian Weise (d. 1708, *Doctrina logica, Nucleus logicae*),

⁵¹ DBL 9:360–362.

⁵² DBL 16:400–404.

⁵³ DBL 1:501–504.

Daniel Stahl (b. 1589), Andreas Frommen (d. 1666) and Johannes Weisse (d. 1683), all from the German tradition.⁵⁴ Scheibler and Martini appear particularly often: Martini served as professor of logic and metaphysics at Wittenberg; Christoph Scheibler was appointed professor at Giessen. Scheibler's two-volume work on metaphysics, first published in 1617, would become a standard manual in Lutheran countries.⁵⁵ Book distribution suggests the significance of Caspar Bartholin the Elder (d. 1629), one of Martini's former pupils, in the field of logic; his school manual on logic was reprinted many times. Only after 1750 did more 'novel' types of philosophy such as that of Descartes (often through the edition prefaced by le Grand), challenge, and eventually overthrow, the peripatetic legacy, or so distribution of works in learned book collections suggests (cf. Chapter 8).

Book collections owned by educated officials in Norway bear witness to the importance of the *trivium* element of a liberal arts education. Dictionaries and grammars, for example, appear frequently; as in the case of the religious and theological books owned by clerics, their authorship was largely German. Fewer works on subjects that were part of the *quadrivium* are found in book collections owned by clerics and Latin school teachers. This disparity surely reflects the primacy accorded the subjects of the *trivium* within Danish-Norwegian education in the liberal arts.

5.3 *The variety of the classical legacy*

Despite the inferior status of the *quadrivium* as reflected in the number of books circulating among Latin school officials and clerics, books relating to the *quadrivium* subjects were still purchased, particularly by readers following other career paths, such as physicians (cf. Chapter 6). Certain books on *quadrivium* subjects seem to have become valued acquisitions for a broad layer of the educated section of Norwegian society. Interestingly, many of these *quadrivium*-related books came from the world of antiquity, which signals that classical books were purchased not only for their value as manuals for language and eloquence, or, for that matter, entertainment. Several members of the

⁵⁴ See for instance Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence," Chapters 7 and 8, and 216–222.

⁵⁵ Ebbesen and Koch, *Dansk filosofi i Renæssancen*, 113.

learned strata, including vicars, who were obliged by Christian V's Norwegian Law of 1687 to instruct midwives and treat sick persons in their parishes, were in possession of classical medical works. *De re medicina* by the classical physician Cornelius Celsus seems to have been a commonly purchased medical manual. Similarly, Scribonius Largus, a physician practising during the reign of Claudius, gained an audience through his *Compositiones medicae*, a manual Latinised in Padua in 1655 and supplied with commentaries by the Dane Johann Rhode.⁵⁶ Classical hermetic literature also occasionally occurred in book collections owned by physicians (cf. Chapter 6).

Pliny the Elder through his widely cherished *Natural History* and Lucretius through his *De rerum natura* (On the Nature of Things) both found a readership in Norway. Also reflecting the ongoing importance of antiquity to the *quadrivium* part of the liberal arts curriculum was the period's steady dissemination of Proclus's *Sphaera*, Euclid's *Elementa*, and *Astronomica*, the astronomical/astrological poem by Marcus Manilius, which appeared in multiple book collections in Josephus Justus Scaliger's annotated version. The botanical and pharmacological work of the Greek physician Dioscorides seems to have had a solid reputation among the more educated, and *De rerum geographia*—re-edited in Amsterdam in 1697 and again in 1717 when it was given the title *Libri de geographia*—by the Greek geographer and Stoic Strabo also reached a Norwegian audience, if a rather smaller one than Dioscorides' text.⁵⁷ Works by the classical geographer Pomponius Mela also sometimes occur in the different collections. As to history, Flavius Josephus's *Opera* on Jewish history seems to have been well known, as was Eusebius's history of the church (*Historia ecclesiastica*, cf. 4.4). Antiquity was not only important to the learning of Latin, Greek and eloquence, but to a range of subjects belonging not only to the *trivium* but also to the *quadrivium*.

The classical legacy is evident in the library of Baron Edvard Løndemann de Rosenkrone (d. 1749), a man of modest birth who continually sought financial success and social acceptance. Løndemann was born in Iceland; his mother was the niece of the well-known historiographer Thormod Torfaeus (d. 1719), the author of *Historia rerum norvegicarum*. He was sent to Denmark at the age of eight, where he

⁵⁶ AGL 4:432–433.

⁵⁷ AGL 4:863.

joined Copenhagen's Latin school. After his university studies, Londemann was appointed parson, and eventually dean, of various prosperous parishes, and in 1726, he subsequently returned to Copenhagen where he was appointed professor *ordinarius metaphysicus*. Londemann, who seems to have had a good eye for business, amassed a considerable fortune after finishing his studies. In 1732, Londemann was appointed *lector theologiae* at the Bergen Latin School, which brought him the income of the prosperous parish of Fana. In 1745, Londemann bought the estate of Rosendal; in 1747 he was appointed titular bishop; and the following year he was ennobled with the rank of baron, at which time he added Rosencrone to his birth name. In addition to his keen interest in moneymaking and upward mobility, Londemann composed poetry, an art in which he gained a certain reputation. An excellent Latinist, Londemann wrote laudatory verse in Latin that was addressed to friends or possible patrons; considering himself a poet, he insisted on adding Pegasus to his coat of arms.⁵⁸ Londemann also took a keen interest in gardening and purchased a wide range of medical plants, culinary herbs and ornamental plants for his estate's renaissance garden.⁵⁹

The scholar and nobleman Londemann was also an eager book collector; his collection contained around 1,600 volumes, the greater part of these being in *octavo*.⁶⁰ Many of Londemann's books came from Germany: more than six hundred books originated in German areas; Leipzig (107 volumes), Frankfurt (87 volumes), or Frankfurt and Leipzig (51 volumes) appear most frequently as the place of publication. Almost 500 volumes in Londemann's collection originated in the Netherlands, including fifty-five volumes only referred to as from 'Lugdun'. Most frequent, however, was Amsterdam, where around 160 volumes in Londemann's book collection were printed. Third most prominent country of origin in terms of volume was France, and fourth, Denmark-Norway: only about 140 volumes in Londemann's collection were printed within the borders of the twin monarchy, and most of these came from Copenhagen.

⁵⁸ Finn Tennfjord, *Stamhuset Rosendal* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1944), 64–82.

⁵⁹ Margun Eik, *Kjøkken & urtehaven på baroniet i Rosendal* (Rosendal: Baroniet Rosendal, 2005), 13–15.

⁶⁰ *Catalogus librorum quos reliquit et regiae equestri Academiae Soranae legavit Edwardus Londemann de Rosencrone, Havniae, Typis Hæredum B. Ernesti Henrici Berlinii, 1750*; The National Library, Oslo. The book collection has also been examined in Gina Dahl, "Edvard Londemann- baron, poet og gniør?" *Historie 2* (2009): 48–55.

The content of the book collection suggests that Londemann was not very interested in theology. Given the size of the collection, only a small number of works were devoted to theology, perhaps a clue that Londemann deliberately chose a more remunerative theological career over a Latinist one for the sake of reputation and wealth. He did, however, possess a limited number of religious and theological works, several of which were by classical authors including Eusebius (d. ca. 339), Lactantius (d. ca. 320), Arnobius of Sicca (d. ca. 330), Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373), Cyprian of Carthage (d. 280), Prosper of Aquitaine (d. ca. 463), Claudianus Mamertus (d. ca. 473), Faustus bishop of Riez (b. ca. 405–410), Gregory of Neocaesarea (i.e. Gregory Thaumaturgus, d. ca. 270), Theophilus bishop of Antioch (lived ca. 170) and Sulpicius Severus (b. ca. 369).

Londemann's book purchases suggest his main interest was in poetry: a substantial part of his collection consisted of poetry or manuals on the art of verse writing. While relatively few grammars or dictionaries were included in his collection—those that he did acquire primarily covered the Latin language— a substantial number of works were devoted to poetry in all its forms. Many of these texts were by Italian or French authors such as Pier Angelo de Barga (d. 1592), Niccolo Partenio Giannettasio (d. 1715), Jacopo Sannazaro (d. 1530), Ugolino Verino (d. 1516), Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (d. 1654), Pierre d'Orville (d. 1738) and Jaques Savary (b. 1607). Londemann also purchased English poetry, examples of which are works by Arthur Johnston (d. 1641), Joseph Addison (d. 1719) and James Alban Gibbes (d. 1677). Jacob Balde (d. 1668) and Elias Eoban (d. 1540) were German poets.

The classical authors in Londemann's collection provided works ranging from poetry and satire to the art of rhetoric and eloquence (cf. table 13). These authors included Martianus Minneus Felix Capella with his encyclopaedic *Satyricon* and Prudence (i.e. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens), a fourth-century Roman Christian poet. In total, but excluding works on the natural sciences, about fifty classical authors were represented, several annotated by early modern humanists. Several authors, such as Cicero and Ovid, were represented by more than one work. Londemann's collection also included several books on classical history, although many of these were by early modern authors.

The importance of antiquity to early modern intellectual culture is demonstrated again by the classical authors in Londemann's collection

Table 13: Antique authors in Londemann's book collection

Albinovanus Pedo, Ammianus Marcellinus, Apulejus, Aulus Gellius, Aurelius Cassidorus, Cato, Catullus, Censorinus, Cicero, Claudian, Claudius Rutilius, Cornelius Nepos, Curtius, Decimus Magnus Ausonius, Florus, Hesiod, Horace, Julius Caesar, Justin, Juvenal, Juvenicus, Livy, Lucian, Marcus Aurelius, Martial, Martianus Minneus Felix Capella, Marcus Minucius Felix, Ovid, Persius, Petronius, Pindar, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, Propertius, Sallust, Seneca, Silius Italicus, Statius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terence, Tibullus, Valerius Flaccus, Valerius Maximus, Valerius Probus, Velleius Paterculus, Vergil, Quintilian, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, Xenophon.

who wrote on scientific topics. For philosophy, Londemann could read not only Aristotle, but also Socrates and Plato's *Phaedrus*. For medical knowledge he could turn to Cornelius Celsus's *De re medicina*, Vegetius's *Mulomedicina* or Scribonus Largus's *Compositiones medicae*. *Arte Coquinaria* or *Apicius* represented the relatively unknown Caelius Apicius and the art of cookery. Several editions of the classical work *De re rustica* could be found in Londemann's library, including Lucius Columella's twelve volume edition on Roman agriculture, which covered topics such as soils, plants, trees and domestic animals. Londemann's classical collection was expansive in its subject matter.

Trivium subjects may have been given greater attention than those of the *quadrivium*, but the liberal arts curriculum from which both elements stemmed played a central role in the formation of early modern book collections. Only towards the end of the early modern period, and during the late eighteenth century in particular, did the dominance of Latin-school institutions and their world of knowledge begin to wane, a result of the establishment of rival educational institutions that challenged the previous hegemonic status of the liberal arts. These changes in educational patterns coincided with a sharp rise in the number of books circulating on the Norwegian book market, and within this new context, the number of books relevant to the liberal arts curriculum declined in relation to the overall number of books on the market (cf. Chapters 8 and 9). Previously, however, books reflecting the liberal arts and broad in both authorship and subject matter had been a vital component of the learned library.

CHAPTER SIX

BOOKS ON MEDICINE

6.1 *Physicians and their educational background*

Physicians, another learned grouping, grew in number over the early modern period and were mostly university trained. These professionals operated in a field marked by a plethora of medical theories, which circulated in book form across the European marketplace of ideas. Medical advances made during this period included Thomas Willis's discoveries regarding the nervous system, Harvey's recognition of the circulation of the blood, Borelli's and Baglivi's contributions to iatrophysics and Lower's thesis on respiration. Important to these early modern endeavours, and to science more generally, was the rediscovery of classical writings, which triggered a wide range of enquiries. These first 'moderns' were not necessarily a homogeneous group of anti-Aristotelian thinkers who challenged ancient practices. Rather, during the Renaissance and the early modern period, a whole range of theories were both challenged and reasserted. Within the field of anatomy, for instance, the transmission of quite heterogeneous classical traditions led to an upsurge in a wide range of experimental practices.¹

The rediscovery of ancient texts led to alternative ways of describing not only the universe but also the human body: the rediscovery of Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, for example, which reintroduced atomistic doctrines, had significant impact on perceptions of the body; the Cartesian idea of a human machine behaving according to mathematical principles and Paracelsus's introduction of chemical remedies, rooted in the perception of the body as a chemical laboratory, also had repercussions in the field of medicine. In light of these new infusions, Thomas Willis identified three possible models for the classification of

¹ Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 6–7.

medicine, the Aristotelian, the Epicurean (or mechanical) and the chemical.²

In this complex field of medical theories, the social status of the physician and the ontological status of disease also shifted. Changing perceptions of disease were a consequence of the surge in new philosophies with their altered conceptions of the body, but also a product of the experience of two major epidemics, the Black Death and syphilis. In contrast to the classical perception of medicine as a matter of prediction and prognosis, where disease was seen as a token of personal imbalance, in the wake of these epidemics, disease came to be perceived as an invasive entity acting through seeds in a range of different ways.³ The identity of the physician gradually evolved from philosophical to practical. Traditionally, the physician was trained as a philosopher in the sense that he was supposed to deal with the prolongation of life by focusing on internal balance through contemplation, often by taking the pulse or examining urine. However, as demand for more effective cures grew, the trained physician, who had traditionally sought the best way for a patient to live in harmony with nature, was now required to demonstrate more practical skills. As the eminent scientist Robert Boyle stated, it was the responsibility of the physician to “keep his patient by powerful medicines from dying,” rather than to predict the exact time when he or she would die.⁴ Medicine, like other areas of science, thus witnessed a shift in focus from the philosophical to the utilitarian.

Yet although these centuries were an era of innovation, early modern medicine was not so radically different from the medicine of previous centuries; it was distinguished rather by a somewhat chaotic merging with the humoral pathology that had been a dogma since antiquity. Despite the novel theoretical infiltrations, humoral pathology remained the core of physicians’ day-to-day treatment of their patients. The Hippocratic theory of the humours was founded on the classical fourfold division of the universe into the entities of fire, air, earth and water, infused respectively with the properties of heat,

² Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Fortuna Press, 1999), 229.

³ Roger French, *Medicine before Science. The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 164.

⁴ Harold J. Cook, “The New Philosophy and Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 417.

dryness, coldness and moisture, an excess of any one being considered harmful to the human body. The classical humoral pathology of Hippocrates was given its final form by Galen, who constructed a basis for medicine that remained in place throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. His four humours of blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, and their equilibrium, were analysed through the examination of blood, urine and sputum. If found to be in imbalance, cathartic drugs or practices were recommended, such as blood-letting, purging, bathing, sweating, vomiting or cupping, in order to re-establish bodily harmony. The circulation of Galenic humours made the liver the central organ of the body; the Aristotelian focus was on the heart.

Bodily equilibrium was also affected by extraterrestrial factors, such as heavenly forces that were believed to influence human health conditions; for this reason, Galen advocated that medicine should take the position of heavenly constellations into account. Charts would predict when a patient should be bled, and, as prediction was important to medicine because of its focus on the possible prolongation of life, astrology came to be valued as an important asset. At the University of Bologna for instance, medical studies without astrology were compared to “an eye that cannot see.”⁵ Botanical knowledge was similarly essential to medicine throughout the early modern period. During the Middle Ages, the universities at Bologna and Padua had become centres of scientific learning and although the traditional curriculum dating from that period was little altered, universities remained a potent locus for growth and for encounters between old and new.⁶ However, medicine broke slowly with its Galenic heritage; it was only in the later eighteenth century that medicine as taught at universities changed more profoundly, a pattern also followed in other branches of the sciences. As a result, we must not think that theoretical changes in the medical field drastically altered the situation for its subjects; in practice, the various novelties did little for the overall wellbeing of patients.⁷

⁵ Bjarte Kaldhol, *Mystikkens verden. Astrologi* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1991), 76.

⁶ See John Gascoigne, “A Reappraisal of the Role of the Universities in the Scientific Revolution,” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 207–260.

⁷ See for instance David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm since Hippocrates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Very few physicians were initially trained at the University of Copenhagen. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, as medicine gained in reputation, the number of physicians taking up positions in Norway grew. Such expansion coincided with governmental stress on improving all types of education and with a rising interest in the provision of healthcare for the broader population. Although physicians were paid from public money, it took time to build a viable medical corps in Denmark-Norway: the first physician in Norway to be paid from official funds, Villads Nielsen, settled in Bergen as late as 1603. Christiania first obtained a publicly financed *stadsmedicus* in 1626, followed by Kristiansand in 1651, the mining town of Kongsberg in 1656, and Trondheim in 1661.⁸ Many of the appointed physicians were foreign born, largely due to the fact that few Norwegians managed to gain access to a higher faculty of education: of the eight physicians practising between 1650 and 1750, only two were originally Norwegians; four were Germans and two were Danes.⁹ Physicians active in Norway also very often supplemented their position with more remunerative activities such as trading, for it could be hard to make a living from medicine. The physician's position was a new phenomenon in a traditional society. Hence, in practice, apart from clerics who also had a certain medical responsibility, the most important healers of the general population were most likely to have been part-time midwives, wise-women, barbers or even quacks.

That reformation theology came to be important both to the status of medicine as well as to the process of incorporating new authors into the medical curriculum can in large part be attributed Philip Melanchthon. The *praeceptor* of Wittenberg saw natural philosophy as a Lutheran means of promoting knowledge of the providence of God in the world. According to Melanchthon, the providence of God was visible through Creation, a belief underpinned by the Lutheran idea that spirituality lay in material things.¹⁰ Therefore, in addition to advocating the *artes* curriculum and shaping clerical education, Melanchthon

⁸ For a general outline of the practice of medicine in early modern Norway, see Ole Georg Moseng, *Ansvar for undersåttens helse 1603–1850* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2003).

⁹ See Johan Scharffenberg, *Bidrag til de norske lægestillingers historie før 1800* (Kristiania: Steen'ske Bogtrykkeri, 1904).

¹⁰ Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 202.

also influenced the medical curriculum, believing medicine to be a science consistent with Lutheran teachings.

A student would join the Faculty of Medicine at Copenhagen once he had passed the necessary tests at the philosophical faculty, at least in theory (cf. 5.1). In the University of Copenhagen charter of 1539, Galen and Hippocrates as well as Rhazes (d. 925) and Avicenna (d. 1037) were deemed authoritative for medical training.¹¹ Physics and mathematics, which were equally important to medical education, also continued to be taught along classical lines: physics was taught according to Aristotle's *Physica*, and in mathematics, Euclid and Ptolemy remained central figures.¹² Anatomy and astrology were also part of medical training. In the Faculty of Philosophy, more novel authors emerged: in physics, philosophers such as Aristotle and Albert the Great were supplemented with three early modern authors, Johannes Velcurio, Simon Brosserius and Melanchthon himself. In mathematics, Johannes de Sacrobosco's thirteenth-century manual *De sphaera*, prefaced by Melanchthon, was included alongside Peurbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum* of 1454 and Peter Apian's *Cosmographia* of 1524, books rooted in the Ptolemaic tradition.¹³ The peripatetic legacy received a warm reception at the post-Reformation University of Copenhagen largely as a result of the impact of Melanchthon's pro-Aristotelian ideals.

This post-Reformation curriculum was gradually expanded throughout the early modern period. Particularly significant was the infusion of mechanical philosophy, which tended to view man as an inert machine instead of as a living organism. Paracelsus's introduction of iatrochemical theories into the medical field also quickly became essential to medical practice and to therapeutics in particular. As a consequence, the number of remedies, botanical as well as (al)chemical, increased. In the Danish-Norwegian setting, this development resulted in an upsurge in official lists of medicaments and their taxation: in 1658, for instance, Thomas Bartholin published eight hundred prescriptions in his *Dispensatorium Hafniense*, a work based on the *Pharmacopoea Augustana*.¹⁴ Bartholin's list, often referred to as the

¹¹ Morten Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydighed. Naturfilosofi, medicin og teologi i Danmark 1536–1636* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2004), 67.

¹² Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydighed*, 69–71.

¹³ Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydighed*, 76–80.

¹⁴ Finn Erhard Johannessen and Jon Skeie, *Bitre piller og sterke draper. Norske apotek gjennom 400 år 1595–1995* (Oslo: Norsk farmasihistorisk museum, 1995), 18–23.

Apothequertaxt, was authorised for use in Denmark-Norway in 1672, and only as late as in 1909 was the 1672 regulation superseded by the launch of a new apothecary law.¹⁵

The mounting attention given to anatomy also had repercussions for the teaching of medicine. In 1643, an anatomical theatre was established in Copenhagen, and here anatomy was to be taught not only to physicians, but also to barber-surgeons, midwives and clerics. The establishment of botanical gardens attached to the university also testifies that interest in medical research was growing, part, in turn, of a broader European interest in early modern science. This process was exemplified by the establishment and growth of public libraries, academies, museums and astronomical observatories. The University of Copenhagen was home to a number of leading figures, both in medicine and in other scientific fields: Thomas Bartholin (d. 1680) gained renown for his discovery of lymph vessels, while Niels Stensen (d. 1686) published on muscular theories, on the functioning of the brain and on sediments and fossils, works which gained him an international reputation. Ole Rømer (d. 1710) contributed significantly to theories on the velocity of light, Ole Worm (d. 1654) to natural history, and Ole Borch (d. 1690) to iatrochemistry. Despite such tours de force by several leading scientists, complaints about the general level of education at the medical faculty continued to run high throughout the early modern period.

Although new discoveries expanded the medical field during the course of the early modern period, the day-to-day practice of physicians did not necessarily alter radically. As noted above, humoral pathology retained its hold for generations. Teaching anatomy to a physician did not turn him automatically into a surgeon; these two branches had been distinct since the Middle Ages,¹⁶ a tradition that was largely maintained. Instead, the physician remained very much a philosopher throughout the early modern period; those who practised surgery in Norway, at least until the mid-eighteenth century, were mainly barbers, who were deemed inferior to the philosophically trained physician. During the course of the eighteenth century, however, surgery was separated from the barbers' guilds and integrated into an independent university structure, inspired by the French system of

¹⁵ See also Per Holck, *Norsk folkemedisin* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1996), 23–32.

¹⁶ Pedersen, "Tradition and Innovation," 452.

surgery-schools. Only towards the end of the early modern period, therefore, were changes in the medical field noticeable on a wider scale, innovations that were replicated in the medical curriculum at the University of Copenhagen where future physicians were ideally exposed to physics, theoretical chemistry, physiology, general therapy, pharmacology, anatomy, botany, obstetrics, medical pathology, surgery and clinical medicine.¹⁷ Medicine no longer focused on theoretical pathology and therapy but offered both theoretical and practical tuition, a shift that took place in most eighteenth-century medical faculties in Europe, including that at Copenhagen.¹⁸

6.2 *The books of university-trained physicians*

Although we have only scant records for book collections that belonged to physicians in early modern Norway, the registers of the libraries of Jacob Woldenberg, Georg Blumenthal and Paul Dons, which cover the period from ca. 1670 to 1748, are illuminating. These personal libraries attest to the vast number of medical theories circulating in book form across early modern Europe.¹⁹

Jacob Woldenberg was the twelfth successive *stadsmedicus* in Bergen, Norway's largest town at the time. Like many of his predecessors, Woldenberg was not native to Norway—he had been born in Copenhagen in the middle of the seventeenth century. After studying for a time in Kiel, Woldenberg obtained his doctorate from the University of Copenhagen in 1679. Having completed his education, he joined the Danish army as a physician,²⁰ and in 1686, was appointed *botanicus* in Norway. Between 1686 and 1687 Woldenberg served as physician in the mining town of Kongsberg, and in 1688, he was appointed physician in Bergen, a position in which he remained until his death in 1735.²¹ Despite the length of his practice in Bergen,

¹⁷ Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 281–290.

¹⁸ Lawrence Brockliss, “Curricula,” in *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 609.

¹⁹ These collections have also been treated in Dahl, “Questioning Religious Influence,” and in Gina Dahl, “Leger, bøker og medisinsk kunnskap i Norge rundt 1700,” *Tidsskrift for Den norske Legeforening* 24 (2009): 2653–2656.

²⁰ Svend Ellehøj (ed.), *Det Lægevidenskabelige fakultet* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1979), 45.

²¹ FDNI 9:165–166.

Woldenberg has left little mark on history other than a few preserved letters in which he complained about barbers, surgeons, midwives and clerical wives who did not respect the physician's monopoly on the treatment of internal diseases.²² Although Woldenberg must have practised surgery during his time in the army, he evidently defined his position as that of a healer of internal diseases.

Georg Blumenthal was born in Germany in 1687 and began his studies in surgery in Lunenburg at the age of 17. After a brief interlude in Bremen, Blumenthal served as a surgeon on ships hunting whales off the shores of Greenland.²³ In 1710, he settled in Denmark to serve as surgeon to the military fleet and advanced from there into further professional positions: he matriculated at the University of Copenhagen in 1725, was created *licentiatus medicinae* in 1726, and obtained a doctorate in medicine in 1733. From 1736 until his death in 1742, Blumenthal practised as a physician in Kongsberg, where Woldenberg had also spent a number of years before settling in Bergen. The mining district of Kongsberg must have been greatly in need of a skilled surgeon and Blumenthal appears to have been up to the task; Blumenthal had come from the ranks of surgeons unlike Woldenberg who was an entirely university-trained physician.

Paul Dons (d. 1748), a second-generation Dane, practised as physician in the city of Trondheim, the fifth town to be given an officially appointed *physicus*. Dons became a student at the Trondheim Latin School in 1706, and then continued his education as a medical student in Denmark, by joining first Ehler's *Collegium* from 1710 to 1711 and then Borch's *Collegium* from 1711 to 1715, followed by a period in which he served as assistant *medicus* at Kvæsthuset. Dons's appointment as city physician in Trondheim only proved to be the first step in a highly successful career in the city's administration: he became Deputy mayor in 1730 and then mayor in 1733; subsequently he was also appointed presiding judge. Throughout this career, however, he retained his position as *stadsmedicus*.²⁴ Little evidence remains to tell us how Dons fulfilled his duties: only in one case is he reported to have supervised surgeons conducting an autopsy.

²² St. Tschudi Madsen and O. Sollied, *Medisinsk liv i Bergen* (Bergen: Selskabet, 1931), 17.

²³ FDNI 1:472.

²⁴ Oddlaug Marstein, *Legeliv i Trondheim: Trondheim stadsfysikats første 238 år, 1661–1899* (Molde: Forl. Helped, 1999), 24–29.

Woldenberg, Blumenthal and Dons possessed book collections of varying size. The major part of Woldenberg's collection of about 300 books were in *octavo*²⁵ as were the majority of Blumenthal's approximately 160 volumes.²⁶ Dons's collection outdid those of Woldenberg and Blumenthal in size, with 586 items including 209 volumes in *quarto* and 225 in *octavo*.²⁷ We have no dates of publication for Woldenberg's collection, but this information is extant for the collections of Blumenthal and Dons and is striking for the age of the books that it conveys. These numbers should not be seen as definitive because the records could be rather slapdash, but only 130 volumes in Dons's collection appear to have been printed after 1700, whereas ninety volumes dated from the period 1650–1699, and 130 volumes from the period 1600–1649; as many as fifty volumes dated from the sixteenth century. The majority of books in Blumenthal's collection also seem to have been published between fifty and hundred years before their owner's death: forty-seven books were printed after 1700, fifty-eight in the period 1650–1699, and twenty-three in the period 1600–1649. Most of the medical works in the book collections of these physicians were written by seventeenth-century authors, as were the majority of the books owned by clergy. Perhaps this dating is indicative of the time it took for books to circulate through the European marketplace of ideas. Such patterns also suggest, however, the importance of inheritance and of the second-hand book market in the formation of libraries, coupled with, we can assume, a long-lasting reverence for older theories and works.

Like the clerical book collections encountered in chapter four, these medical collections portray a dependence on German Protestant territories. In Blumenthal's collection, for instance, where information on places of printing is given in many instances, most books seem to have been printed in German Lutheran areas, Leipzig and Frankfurt in particular, although whether this reference is to Frankfurt am Main or Frankfurt an der Oder, remains unclear (see table 14). Copenhagen is

²⁵ Bergen stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, auction record number 15 (1734–1739). The listing of books starts on folio 78.

²⁶ Kongsberg stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, probate record number 2 (1739–1745). The listing of books starts on folio 454a.

²⁷ See *Catalogus librorum praesertim medicinalium quas reliquit Dn. Paul Dons* (1749); Gunnerus Library, Trondheim. These numbers are not absolute, as several items comprise different works bound together, while other items are referred to by vague references such as “a cluster of old books”.

also an important place of origin, and is perhaps somewhat underrepresented in the listing, for although only fourteen books are recorded as having been printed in Copenhagen, at least three other works in the collection were written by Danish authors, and these works might also have been printed in Copenhagen. In addition to German territories and Denmark, the Netherlands played a role in the dissemination of the medical works found in Blumenthal's collection with Leiden and Amsterdam particularly prominent, as in clerical collections.

The majority of books in Dons's collection also seem to have originated in German territories, the Netherlands, and Copenhagen (see table 15). 'Frankfurt' is again well represented, but while one book is reportedly printed in Frankfurt an der Oder and eight in Frankfurt am Main, the remaining books are supplied only with the name Frankfurt, which makes a further identification of place of origin difficult. The second largest volume of books in Dons's collection originated in the Netherlands. Although several works were reportedly printed in Amsterdam, those labelled as originating in Lugdun are more difficult to classify as 'Lugdun' might indicate either Lyon, in France, or Leiden, in the United Provinces. (The term 'Lugdun Bataurum,' which indicates Leiden, is not used in the book catalogue at all). As, however,

Table 14: Places of origin of books listed in Blumenthal's collection

	Blumenthal
Leipzig	22
Frankfurt	18
Copenhagen	14
Halle	11
Wittenberg	7
Nuremberg	7
Amsterdam	6
Jena	6
London	6
Lugdun Bat. (Leiden)	5
Argentorati (Strasbourg)	4
Padua	3
Venice	2
The Hague	2
Paris	2
Basel	2

Table 15: Places of origin of books listed in Dons's collection²⁸

	Dons
Frankfurt	72
Leipzig	67
Lugdun (Leiden?)	36
Amsterdam	38
Copenhagen	30
Basel	19
Nuremberg	17
Argentorati (Strasbourg)	17
Jena	16
Venice	12
Halle	10

many of the works reportedly printed in 'Lugdun' were by German or Dutch authors, their place of publication is more likely Leiden than Lyon. For physicians practising in Norway, as for clerics, therefore, German Protestant areas and the Netherlands seem to have been frequent points of origin for their books.

Just as clerical book collections were characterised by the presence of a great variety of authors and books (cf. Chapter 4), so too works by a large number of medical authorities were distributed among physicians practising in Norway. Blumenthal's collection, for instance, covered more than ninety different authors. Only twelve authors were listed across all three medical book collections, while as many as forty-five authors appeared in two of them (see table 16). Although most of the authors listed were German or Dutch, either by birth or by professional life, it is interesting to note that many of the remaining authors also originated in other countries. The works of authors who stemmed from a wide range of geographical areas were transmitted through a relatively limited number of trade channels. Authorship also suggests that medicine was an even more international field than was theology.²⁹

²⁸ Only places where ten or more books were reportedly printed are listed in table 15.

²⁹ There also seems to have been a gradual decline in religious works across the different collections. As far as we can tell from the information that survives, while Woldenberg possessed some religious works, Blumenthal and Dons owned very few. Perhaps this disparity suggests a professionalisation of the sciences over the course of the early modern period.

Table 16: Authors of medical books

Listed across 3 collections	Paul Amman (d. 1691), Paul Barbette (b. 1620), Caspar Bartholin the Elder (d. 1629), Thomas Bartholin (d. 1680), Steven Blankaart (d. 1702), Petrus Forestus (Pieter van Foreest, d. 1597), Johann Helfrich Jungken (d. 1726), Lazarus Riverus (Lazare Riviere, d. 1655), Daniel Sennert (d. 1637), Thomas Sydenham (d. 1689), Johann Jacob Waldschmidt (d. 1689), Georg Wedel (d. 1721)
Listed across 2 collections	Prosper Alpinus (Prospero Alpini, d. 1617), Giorgio Baglivi (d. 1707), Caspar Bauhin (d. 1624), Johann Joachim Becher (d. 1682), Ole Borch (d. 1690), Thomas Burnet (d. 1715), Hieronymus Cardanus (d. 1576), William Coles (d. 1662), Oswald Croll (d. 1608), Johann Sigismund Elsholt (d. 1688), Hieronymus Fabricius (Girolamo Fabrici, d. 1619), Leonhard Fuchs (d. 1566), Johann Rudolf Glauber (d. 1670), Johannes Hartmann (d. 1631), Hippocrates, Friedrich Hoffmann (d. 1742), Gregorius Horstius (d. 1636), John Jonston (d. 1675), Johann Juncker (d. 1759), Johannes Kunkel von Löwenstjern (d. 1703), Michael Lyser (d. 1659), Pietro Andrea Matthioli (d. 1577), Johann Muys (seventeenth century), Richard Morton (d. 1698), Abraham Munting (d. 1683), Hadrianus Mynsicht (d. 1638), Georg Philipp Nenter (d. early 18 th century), Paracelsus (d. 1541), Simon Paulli (d. 1680), Henricus Petraeus (d. 1620), Felix Platter (d. 1614), Petrus Poterius (d. 1643), Urbnanus Rhegius (d. 1541), Martin Ruland (d. 1611), Angelo Sala (d. 1637), Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg (d. 1598), Johann Schroeder (d. 1664), Franciscus Sylvius (d. 1672), Michael Bernhard Valentini (d. 1729), Jan van Helmont (d. 1644), Jan van Heurne (d. 1601), Philipp Verheyen (d. 1710), Johannes Vesling (d. 1649), Johann Wittich (d. 1596), Johann Jacob Woyt (d. 1709), Johann Zwelfer (d. 1668)

The authors to appear most frequently were all major figures at the time. From the Danish sphere of influence, we encounter Caspar Bartholin the Elder (d. 1629) and his son Thomas Bartholin (d. 1680). The father in this pairing, a professor of medicine, was, as noted earlier, the author of several school manuals on topics such as logic and rhetoric (cf. 5.1); his treatise *Institutiones anatomicae*, a standard textbook on anatomy also translated into other languages, was present in all three book collections. His son, founder of the first Scandinavian scientific review, *Acta medica et philosophica hafniensia*, which appeared between 1673 and 1680, also seems to have been of importance to physicians practising in Norway, at least according to the records of book distribution— in Dons's collection, for instance, Thomas Bartholin was accredited with as many as eight different works.

The Dutch authors who occur across all three collections, namely Petrus Forestus, known as “the Dutch Hippocrates,” Steven Blankaart and Paul Barbette, were all celebrated physicians at the time. So too were Lazarus Riverus, medical professor at Montpellier and physician to the king of France, the German physician and botanist Paul Amman, the Cartesian-inspired Johann Jacob Waldschmidt and Johann Juncker, an adherent of Georg Ernst Stahl, all of whom also appear in the different collections. Several books by Daniel Sennert, for many years professor at the University of Wittenberg were also to be found in the collections of Woldenberg, Dons and Blumenthal. Sennert was one of the most celebrated physicians of his age, especially in the Germanic tradition; by the nineteenth century his works had been published in as many as 125 different editions.³⁰

The growing reputation of iatrochemistry or alchemy is demonstrated in the table above by the presence of authors such as Paracelsus and Oswald Croll, as well as Johann Joachim Becher, Petrus Poterius, Hadrianus Mynsicht and Martin Ruland. Listed for at least two of the collections was also Franciscus Sylvius, considered the founder of the so-called ‘iatrochemical school of medicine’, as was Johannes Hartmann, who held Europe's first professorship in medical and pharmaceutical chemistry. Book distribution suggests that Blankaart, Barbette, Jan van Heurne, Johann Muys, Hieronymus Fabricius and

³⁰ Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 207.

Table 17: Works on alchemy and iatrochemistry in Woldenberg's collection

Woldenberg's main interest seems to have been iatrochemistry or alchemy, as a substantial number of his books fall into this category: listed in his collection was, for example, *Ortus medicinae* by Jan van Helmont, one of the period's principal disciples of Paracelsus. A second book by van Helmont was also included in Woldenberg's collection: *Aufgang der Artzney-Kunst*, a German translation of Helmont's *Ortus medicinae* first published in 1683 by Christian Knorr van Rosenroth. Oswald Croll (d. 1608), who drew on Paracelsus as well as on Platonic dualism when he argued harmony between micro- and macrocosm to be the foundation of medicine, was represented by the work *Basilica chymica*; another follower of Paracelsus, Jean Beguin, was accredited with the book *Tyrocinium chymicum*, a work that spread with remarkable rapidity across Europe. Lazarus Zetzner's *Theatrum chemicum*, an anthology of previous authorities within the domain of alchemy, was also listed, as was *Currus triumphalis antimonii* written by the alchemist Johann Tholde, who achieved fame by curing Louis XIV by means of antimony.³¹ Other authors who wrote manuals for laboratory practice were also listed in Woldenberg's collection, including Angelo Sala (d. 1637) and Johannes Hartmann (d. 1631). Johann Joachim Becher (d. 1682), the author of numerous works on alchemy, medicine and theology, was listed with an iatrochemical work, as was Hadrianus Mynsicht (d. 1638). The French physician Petrus Poterius was represented by *Opera omnia practica & chymica*, an annotated edition of Poterius's works published in 1698.³² Titles referring to the Hermeticist tradition were also noted in the auction protocol, including *Trismegistus de lapide philosophico*. Similarly, Henricus Petraeus (d. 1620), a professor of anatomy and botany at Marburg, was the author of *Nosologica harmonia dogmatica et hermetica*.³³

Caspar Bauhin were all influential in the field of anatomy, and Prosper Alpinus, Johann Sigismund Elsholt, Simon Paulli, Paul Amman, Pietro Andrea Matthioli and Abraham Munting in the field of botany.

³¹ Roberto Margotta, *History of Medicine* (London: Octopus, 2001), 94.

³² AGL 3:1730.

³³ AGL 3:1433–1434.

Most of the authors listed in table 16 were polymaths, who might be represented across the three collections by a variety of books, not necessarily all medical. While Thomas Sydenham, for example, appears on all three listings as the author of a variety of medical books, Thomas Burnet's medical work *Thesaurus medicinae* was listed in both Dons's and Woldenberg's collections, but Dons also possessed Burnet's more famous cosmology *Telluris theoria sacra*, printed in Hamburg in 1698. Blankaart also wrote on topics other than anatomy and was represented in Woldenberg's collection by *De usu & abusu herbae thee & coffee*.

The collection of Dons is so vast that his specific interests are difficult to identify, but personal preferences can be discerned in the collections of Woldenberg and Blumenthal. On one hand, Woldenberg seems to have been particularly interested in iatrochemistry or alchemy, as a substantial number of books fall into this category (see table 17). Such occurrences, however, might also reflect the rising importance of iatrochemical theories to therapeutics and could also relate to Woldenberg's specific role as a healer of internal diseases. Blumenthal, on the other hand, seems to have been particularly drawn to work on anatomy, which is not especially surprising given his professional background.

The book collections of Dons, Woldenberg and Blumenthal also provide evidence of a medical field in evolution. Classical writings, for instance, appear to be on the decline: whereas Woldenberg possessed several works by Galen and Hippocrates, Blumenthal owned only one work by Hippocrates. Similarly, whereas Woldenberg's library may be characterised as that of a physician-philosopher, the libraries of Blumenthal and Dons contained a higher number of mechanist and anatomist works, reflecting the shift towards a more modern and mechanist perception of the human body. Only Dons possessed works written by the eminent Dutch physician Herman Boerhaave, the first professor to establish a clinical course.³⁴

Blumenthal owned several books reflecting the discussion between vitalists and mechanists in the German tradition. Eight volumes in his collection were ascribed to Friedrich Hoffmann and were listed along with two of Johann Juncker's most important works, his *Conspectus chirurgiae* and *Conspectus formularum medicarum*; both

³⁴ Brockliss, "Curricula," 611.

men practised for a time at the University of Halle. Hoffmann, the author represented by the largest number of books in the Blumenthal collection, was in favour of new mechanistic theories of the body, ideas that were expressed in his *Fundamenta medicinae*. Hoffmann became the leading methodological physician of the first half of the eighteenth century, having systematised Galen as well as the iatromechanical and iatrochemical aspects of medicine, and although he adhered to a mechanistic philosophy, he held the *anima* to be the first principle of motion.³⁵ One of Hoffmann's colleagues and friends was Georg Ernst Stahl (d. 1734), the founder of the distinguished medical school at the University of Halle. Stahl, in opposition to Hoffmann, advanced anti-mechanistic views, as he believed that purposeful human action could not be wholly explained in mechanistic terms.³⁶ One of his main vitalist disciples was Johann Juncker, who had originally studied theology at the Pietistic University of Halle. This primarily German, late seventeenth-century debate between mechanists and vitalists is indicative of the shift from humoral pathology and magical remedies towards more practically inclined and mechanist-inspired cures within the medical field, a shift that is reflected in the book collections belonging to Woldenberg, Dons and Blumenthal.

For the second half of the eighteenth century, changes in the medical field are even more evident, as occurrences of older, more esoteric works, for example, reduce in number to be replaced by more modern works, although the former do not vanish completely. The collection of the Kongsberg physician Niels Nissen Storm, auctioned off in 1771, included a range of more novel writings on chemistry, including the above-mentioned Boerhaave's *Elementa chemiae* and Johann Christian Zimmermann's *Allgemeine Grundsätze der theoretisch-practischen Chemie*. Several works by Nicholas Lémery were also included in Storm's library, one of which was his *Pharmacopée universelle*. Similarly indicative of the relative novelty of the collection was the inclusion of Isaac Newton's *Principia*.³⁷

³⁵ DSB 6:458–461. DSB: *Dictionary of scientific biography*, New York 1970–1981.

³⁶ Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 68.

³⁷ *Catalogus over afgangne Berg-Medici Dr. Storms Bøger: som ved Auction i Stervboe-Gaarden udi Bergstaden Kongsberg den 8. October 1771 bortsælges*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

Also symptomatic of innovation within the medical field was the increased number of bibliographies of medical authors and diseases, a sign of the new tendency to systematise knowledge when confronted by market overload. In libraries, these books would often be included under 'historia literaria', a category that in the Norwegian context was used with increasing frequency over the course of the eighteenth century. The book collection belonging to military surgeon Joachim Frederik Rosum, auctioned off in 1791, included a range of bibliographies, in addition to several newer works on surgery and anatomy, such as *Medizinische und gelehrten Lexicon*, *Medisinische Bibliotek* and *Chirurgisches Lexicon*.³⁸ A bibliography of all medical works written by Danes or printed in Denmark was compiled by the physician Christian Elovius Mangor (d. 1801) and published in 1797.³⁹

Included in Rosum's collection were also several books on venereal diseases, indicative of a general rise in books dealing with more intimate aspects of the human body (cf. 6.3). Such books were also included in the collection belonging to another military surgeon, Niels Bang Steffens, which was auctioned off in 1806.⁴⁰ Here, several books on gynaecology and venereal diseases were listed, including *Traité des maladies vénériennes*, *Traité des maladies des femmes*, *Observations sur la grossesse & l'accouchement des femmes*, *Système sur les maladies vénériennes*, *Treatise of the Venereal Disease* and *De la generation de l'homme*. These late eighteenth-century personal libraries were also likely to include a wider range of medical works in the vernacular than had earlier collections.

6.3 Medical works among other sections of society

Medical works seem to have been a standard asset of any learned library throughout the early modern period. However, such works seem to have had a particular appeal for clerics, probably because, as

³⁸ *Fortegnelse over salig Hr. Regiments Feldskier Rosums efterladte medicinske Bøger, som ved offentlig Auction, blive bortsolgte, trykket i Trondheim* (1791); The National Library, Oslo.

³⁹ Bruhns, *Bibliografiens historie*, 226.

⁴⁰ *Fortegnelse over afgangne regimentsfeldtskier Niels Christian Bang Steffens's efterladte Bøger, som ved Auktion blive bortsolgte, den ... førstkommande* (1806); The National Library, Oslo.

we have noted, clerics had been required by Christian V's Norwegian Law of 1687 to instruct midwives and to treat sick persons in their parish. Whether this requirement was understood in spiritual or practical terms remains uncertain. Certainly, some parsons took this requirement seriously, and a number of early modern clerics also became adept physicians.

Many members of the clergy possessed medical books, some of which were classical texts (cf. 5.3). Various members of the Bartholin family were apparently valued by clerics as authors of medical books; also popular was *Dend barmhiertige samaritan* (The Good Samaritan) written by the German cleric Elias Beynon. Books on herbals and other types of remedies also seem to have been distributed among the clergy. Book distribution suggests however that one of the most important manuals was *De secretis mulierum* (On the Secrets of Women) by Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, a work that dealt with, among other things, the bodily functions of women and was probably used by clerics in their training of midwives.⁴¹ Only after 1750 does *De secretis* seem to have lost its position to more modern manuals, examples of which could be found in the possession of the parson Lauridtz Kiesturp.⁴² Kiesturp's library was auctioned off in 1763 at which time it contained several up-to-date gynaecological works written by authors such as Balthasar de Buchwald (d. 1763) and Jacques Mesnard (d. 1746).

Some clerics owned a substantial number of medical works. Personal interest might account for some of these collections. Two theologians serving in the south-eastern county of Jarlsberg, the parson of Stokke Niels Kolstrup and the vicar of Rames Jon Hvid, owned a variety of medical books: whereas Kolstrup's collection included about 130 books, Hvid possessed about 120 books, and several of their books covered medicine. Hvid also seems to have been genuinely interested in alchemy (see table 18). Medical advice might also be sought from the parson's wife, who was often thought to possess medical skills. That some clerical wives did have some knowledge of medicine can be ascertained by looking in turn at their book collections. Apollone

⁴¹ See statistics in Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence."

⁴² *Catalogus over veltværdige nu salige Hr. Lauridtz Kiestrups, forrige Sogne-Præst til Opdal, Stervboes tilhørende efterladte Bøger, de fleste meget godt conditionerede, som den Februarii 1764 i Monsr. Amund Olsen Hylds Huus udi Tronhiem bliver Auctionerede* (1763); The National Library, Oslo.

Maartensdatter, who also lived in the county of Jarlsberg, owned about ten books,⁴³ but even this very small collection included at least two medical works in the vernacular, Beynon's *Dend barmhiertige samaritan* and Niels Michelsen Aalborg's *Lægebog* (book on medicine). Maartensdatter also had in her possession "some additional (but unspecified) medical books." This evidence suggests that Maartensdatter

Table 18: Medical works owned by the clerics Kolstrup and Hvid

Hvid's collection included a number of non-theological books that covered topics such as astronomy (Thomas Blebel, Caspar Peucer) and philosophy (Jakob Martini, Redemptus Baranzanus, Rudolph Agricola).⁴⁴ Several works also concerned medicine, and most of these were in Latin. Some of his books were by Danish scientists, including Thomas Bartholin and Caspar Bartholin the Elder (*Institutiones anatomicae*). Hvid's collection contained a *Physica* accredited to the German sixteenth-century philosopher-physician Wilhelm Adolf Scribonius, and Antonius Mizaud (d. 1578), a physician and mathematician from Bourbon, was accredited with the botanical work *De hortensium arborum infinitione opusculum*. Kolstrup's collection indicates a particular preoccupation with alchemy or iatrochemistry.⁴⁵ Joseph Quercetanus (d. 1609), a follower of Paracelsus, was listed with his work *Pharmacopoeia dogmaticorum restituta*; Johannes Agricola (d. 1643) and the early seventeenth-century Quercetanus-adept Thomas Kesler were listed as the authors of chemical works. Included in Kolstrup's collection were also Daniel Sennert's *De consensu & dissensu galenicorum & peripateticorum*, *Praxis medica* by the famous Dutch physician Franciscus Sylvius, and *50 sonder und wunderbare Schufz-Wunden-Curen* by the seventeenth-century German military surgeon Matthaeus Gottfried Purmann. Additional titles in the inventory, such as *Cabalae verior descriptio*, suggest that Kolstrup took a specific interest in more spiritual-mystical theories.

⁴³ See Jarlsberg clerical probate records, microfilm NOR10 38 (1704-1738); the inventory starts on folio 176b.

⁴⁴ See Jarlsberg clerical probate records, microfilm NOR10 38 (1704-1738); the inventory starts on folio 29b.

⁴⁵ See Jarlsberg clerical probate records, microfilm NOR10 38 (1704-1738); the inventory starts on folio 181b.

had an interest in medicine; perhaps she served as a so-called ‘wise woman’ to her fellow parishioners.

Medical works were not limited to the libraries of physicians and clerics. They could also be found in the possession of the rural population, often in the form of practical manuals that contained descriptions of diseases and remedies, such as Henrik Smith’s *Lægebog* (1577) and Niels Michelsen Aalborg’s *Lægebog* (1635, cf. 3.2). These works could also be found in collections belonging to practising physicians. Works on different types of remedies also seem to have been valued by wider sections of the population; Beynon’s *Dend barmhiertige samaritan*, for example, was also found outside the libraries of clerics such as those noted above. Although many members of the general population owned medical works, some families appear to have been more likely than others to accumulate such collections;⁴⁶ members of these families were presumably sought in cases of disease, as were barbers, clerics and their wives, midwives, wise women and quacks. In a field where a wide range of practices (some of them magical) could be employed for curative purposes, it should be noted that certain non-medical books probably also served as medical manuals. When the parson Hans Strøm (d. 1797, see also 3.4) in the region of Sunnmøre asked one of the parishioners what medical work he read, he received the answer, “that of *doctor* Morten [Martin] Luther”.⁴⁷

In the later eighteenth century, the number of practical manuals available on the market grew (cf. Chapter 8). These deliberately utilitarian manuals covered a wide range of topics, of which medicine was one. Access to such manuals was afforded by various reading societies, such as that of Hardanger (Det Hardangersche Bønders Læse Selskab), mentioned in chapter 3. Of the thirty-three titles registered by the society in 1789, seven were of non-religious character, and of these, two covered medical issues.⁴⁸ Medical works were also included in the various reading societies established in the diocese of Kristiansand in the late eighteenth century—among the practical manuals available here, several dealt with medicine, some of them by the above-mentioned physician Christian Elovius Mangor, who practised for some time

⁴⁶ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 272–273.

⁴⁷ Hans Strøm, *Kort Underviisning om De paa Landet, i Bergens Stift, meest grasserende Sygdomme, og derimot tienende Hjelpe-Midler* (Bergen: Dedecken, 1778), 8. Transcribed version by Bjørn Davidsen (2001): <http://home.online.no/~fndbred/hstrom1.htm>

⁴⁸ Apelsest, *Den låge danninga*, 369.

in Kristiansand:⁴⁹ Mangor spent much of his time combating *radesyke*, a disease that caused severe skin deformation⁵⁰ and was considered at the time to be a possible outbreak of leprosy, scurvy or syphilis.⁵¹ Later in his career, Mangor took up a position as physician in Copenhagen and was also appointed secretary of the *Collegium medicum*. In the Kristiansand reading societies, Mangor was represented by, among other works, his treatise on *radesyke* and by a manual on pregnancy and child delivery. This latter type of book was published more frequently during course of the eighteenth century, due perhaps to the growing acceptance of child delivery as a legitimate and integral part of medicine.⁵² Also distributed across several layers of Norwegian society were medical hand-books, a type of universal book that supposedly contained the cure for all kinds of diseases. Examples of such works were auctioned off by the bookbinder and bookseller Friderich Joachim Schuster in 1767 (see table 19; items 6, 7 and 9 are examples of such all-encompassing manuals).⁵³

A wide range of practical medical books also circulated among the more educated during the latter stages of the early modern period. Books on childbirth and venereal diseases, for instance, seem to have been increasing in number in late eighteenth-century learned book collections, repeating a pattern found in the collections of physicians. *Generalauditeur* Frederik Collin in Trondheim left behind a number of books on venereal diseases and various aspects of physical intimacy (see table 20).⁵⁴ *Onania* (1716), a book which condemned masturbation on moral and religious grounds and which had a profound influence on the culture and society of the day, often occurred in various late eighteenth-century book collections.⁵⁵ *Onania* was also one of the

⁴⁹ Byberg, *Biskopen, bøndene og bøkene*, 175.

⁵⁰ DBL 11:92–93.

⁵¹ Moseng, *Ansaret for undersåttenes helse*, 248.

⁵² Per E. Børdahl and Erlend Hem, “Med tangen ut i verden- Christian Kielland og hans tang,” *Tidsskrift for den Norske Legeforening* 12 (2001): 1496.

⁵³ *Catalogus Paa de Bøger og andre Piecer, som ere indbudnde at bekomme for den billigste Priis, hos Friderich Joachim Schuster, Bogbinder og Bodhandler, Boende paa Friderichshald, Christianya, 1767, Trykt hos Samuel Conrad Schwach*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

⁵⁴ *General auditeur Collins efterladte Bøger, som ved Auction bliver bortsolgt, den förstkommande, Trondhiem 1802, Trykt hos W. Stephanson*; The National Library, Oslo. Spellings are preserved from the listing in the catalogue.

⁵⁵ Michael Stolberg, “Self Pollution, Moral Reform, and the Venereal Trade: Notes on the Sources and Historical Context of *Onania*,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9–1/2 (2000): 37–38.

Table 19: Medical works offered for sale by Friderich Joachim Schuster in 1767

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1. Heister's *Chirurgie*, 1ster und 2ter Theil, mit Kupfern.
 2. G. Heuermann's *Physiologie*, 1, 2, 3, u. 4ter Theil mit Kupfern
 3. J. S. Kruger's *Natur-Lehre nebst Physiologie und Pathologie*, 1, 2, und 3ter Theil, mit Kupfern
 4. Ej. (Kruger's) *Diæt oder Lebens Ordnung*
 5. Ej. (Kruger's) *166 Traume*
 6. *Landmandens Haand-Middel udi de allerfleeste langvarie Sygdomme* (The Merchant's Remedy for All Long-Enduring Diseases)
 7. *S. Catharina fortreffelige Driks Beskrivelse, som kand bruges til Sundhed*, oversadt af det Engelske (Description of St. Catharine's Elixir, Used for Soundness, translated from English)
 8. Mesnard's *Veiviisere for Jorde-Mødre eller Jorde-Moder Skole*, med Kobberstkr. (Mesnard's Guide for Midwives, or School of Midwives)
 9. C. Weisbach's *grundige Curen av alle Menneskelige Sygdomme, hvorefter enhver kand blive sin egen Doctor* (Dr. Weisbach's Cure for All Human Diseases, Enabling Everyone to Become His Own Doctor)
 10. J. J. Woyt's *Medicinisches Lexicon*, 1ster und 2ter Theil, mit Kupfern.
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books offered to the public by the Christiania bookbinder Niels Haslef in Christiania in 1753.⁵⁶

The occurrence of such books also indicates another trend in the eighteenth-century book market—the publication of a growing number of books on more intimate aspects of life, such as married life and childrearing. A bestselling manual in this respect was a work by the Danish-born and Enlightenment-inspired theologian Frederik Julius Bech (d. 1822) entitled *Veiledning i at opdrage en sund, fornuftig, duelig og lykkelig Afkom* (Manual on How to Raise Healthy, Reasonable, Sound and Happy Children); this particular work became a classic in learned book collections at the very end of the eighteenth century. Søren Monrad, the headmaster of the Christiania Latin School whom

⁵⁶ *Catalogus guter und neuer Bücher welche vor beygesetzten Preis zu haben sind bey Niels Haslef, Buchbinder in Christiania, 1753*; The National Library, Oslo.

we have already encountered (cf. 5.2), included in his vast library works such as *De l'éducation des enfants*, *L'art de faire des garçons*, *Tableau de l'amour; considéré dans l'état du mariage*, *Nouveaux secrets pour conserver la beauté des dames & pour guérir plusieurs fortes de maladies* and *Des maladies des femmes*. Other medical genres on the rise in late eighteenth-century learned book collections, including those belonging to medical specialists, were inoculation against small-pox and diseases affecting animals, especially horses.⁵⁷ Occasionally we encounter works that dealt with the medical effects of drinking coffee and tea, and medical periodicals such as *Lægen, et medicinsk ugeskrift* and *Nye Sundhedstidende*.

If we take the book collections discussed in this chapter as indicative of general trends, it appears that the market for medical books in early modern Norway was marked by a high level of internationalisation. University-trained physicians possessed a wide range of books published in a number of different countries, although much of this literature originated in German territories or in the Netherlands, repeating a pattern we have already established for the clergy. Few medical works, however, originated in England, and, as was the case for theological literature, few books appear to have been the work of Danish-Norwegian authors, at least before 1750. In addition to university-trained physicians, other agents also practised medicine in early

Table 20: Books on venereal diseases or related topics included in the collection of *Generalauditeur* Collin

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- *Traité des maladies des femmes*, Avignon, 1763
 - *Traité des maladies veneriennes*, Paris 1755
 - (Nicholas) Robinson's *Traité of the Venereal Disease*, London 1736
 - *Syphilidos mnemosynon criticon*, Amsterdam 1755
 - *Tableau de l'amour coniugal* par M. N. (Nicolas) Venette, London 1751
 - *L'art de connaitre les femmes*
 - *Traité de maladies veneriennes*, Amsterdam 1696
 - *Observations sur la grossesse*, Paris 1695
 - Venetes (Nicolas Venette) *Erzeugung der Menschen*, Leipzig 1711
-

⁵⁷ Findings based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book collections, see appendix 1.

modern Norway, namely, clerics and various members of the laity. These practitioners also possessed medical works, several of which were in the vernacular. With the increase in the number of medical manuals circulating on the book market by the late eighteenth century, many of which were of a more practical type, ownership of medical works grew. A wider and more heterogeneous cross-section of the population was now able to purchase medical books that, in keeping with the mentality of the age, covered a wide range of topics.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BOOKS ON JURISPRUDENCE

7.1 *Jurists and their educational background*

Another group of learned book collectors in early modern Norway was formed by collectors who participated in the legal system. Throughout the early modern period, such officials originated in various sections of the population. Those who were university trained had not necessarily studied law; only in the eighteenth century were requirements for formal training sharpened, a period in which the number of skilled lawyers rose, as did the number of physicians (cf. Chapter 6). Such professionalisation resulted from the gradual strengthening of administrative and official services over the course of the early modern period, a process that led to a significant growth in the number of governmentally appointed trained personnel working in various positions.

Although it has been suggested that in the broader European context jurisprudence came to be the leading science at the end of the sixteenth century, a role retained for more than a century,¹ this claim cannot be made for Denmark-Norway. Just as there were few student physicians in the first part of the early modern period, so too were there few students of jurisprudence. Only during the eighteenth century, and after the university reform of 1788 in particular, did the number of students at the University of Copenhagen rise significantly in all faculties other than theology and philosophy.² As a result of this minimal interest in juridical studies, relatively few obtained a doctorate in law during the course of the early modern period.

Despite its low number of students, the Faculty of Law, just like the other faculties, was greatly affected by the philosophy of the Protestant reformers, and of Melanchthon in particular. According to Melanchthon, the law of nature, *lex naturale*, was divinely bestowed on

¹ Schmidt-Biggemann, "New Structures of Knowledge," 509.

² Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 29.

all human minds,³ and the traditional Roman law corpus provided an ideal reflection of these general principles. As a result of the primacy granted to Roman law, it became the main focus of study in the post-Reformation Copenhagen setting, providing a corrective for testing whether or not Danish and Mosaic law, alternative legal sources, were in accordance with general, innate juridical principles.⁴ The study of Roman law would also provide students with a formal training that would help them to codify or practise local (non-Roman) law.⁵ Often used as an instructional manual in the educational setting was the first part of the Justinian *Corpus juris civilis*, the *Institutiones*. Other parts of the *Corpus*, notably the *Code* and the *Digest* (or *Pandectae*), might also be employed. And although Protestant faculties by and large abandoned the teaching of canon law, at least in the form of Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Decretals*, professors were still expected to lecture on canon law in relation to matrimonial issues, teaching that was often based on *Decretum*.⁶

Why did so few students attend the Faculty of Law? There are several explanations. The provision of several Scandinavian countries, including Norway, with national law codes since the Middle Ages had tended to make the study of Roman law superfluous. Additionally, legal assemblies throughout Denmark-Norway had always been organised by local, very often non-professional, agents. The university-trained jurist was as rare in traditional society as was the university-trained physician, at least in the earlier stages of the early modern period. Professors of law could also be rendered superfluous within the university structure itself; when legal assistance was needed in the immediate post-Reformation period, theologians were more frequently asked for advice than were jurists.⁷ University training, therefore, and the actual practice of law in the local community, constituted two somewhat separate spheres that only with time came to overlap.

The National Law of King Magnus the law-mender (1274) had established a uniform legal code for Norway. Reissued in 1604 as Christian IV's Norwegian Law, this national law corpus was not fully replaced until a Norwegian law code was issued in 1687. Four years

³ Kusakawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy*, 70.

⁴ Ditlev Tamm and Ejvind Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet* (Copenhagen: Gad, 2005), 26–32.

⁵ Pedersen, "Tradition and Innovation," 455.

⁶ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, 25–36.

⁷ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, 23.

earlier, Christian V's Danish Law had been a tour de force by a Danish-Norwegian absolutist government striving to make legislation more uniform.⁸ These law codes, moulded according to other European models, were strongly influenced by Mosaic law—the sixth book of the Norwegian law code, for instance, was systematically classified in accordance with the Ten Commandments—and this use of the Mosaic legacy resulted in harsh penalties, above all for extramarital sex.⁹ Additional legal sources issued in the same period for use among legal officials included a series of recesses and ordinances, notably the Little Recess of 1615 and the Great Recess of 1643.¹⁰ Other non-authoritative manuals could be of use in the practical setting, such as the *Glossarium juridicum danico-norvegicum* (1665), which explained legal terms and had been compiled by Christen Ostensen Weyle, a local government official in Roskilde.

Before 1736, those practising law were generally not required to have completed any formal education. Instead, legal officials were to be respectable citizens trusted by the locals. In the seventeenth century, a third of all peasants either served at court or participated in a lawsuit each year.¹¹ As to the jurors, the lower rural courts consisted of locals (*lagrettemenn*), in addition to the 'sworn writer' (*sorenskriver*), who drew up the protocols for the different cases. Serving several local communities with his writing skills, the sworn writer acquired such expertise that he came with time to be the most prominent member of the jury. In 1634, the sworn writer was legally defined as a co-judge, and in the Norwegian Law of 1687, he was appointed sole judge in all cases other than those involving allodial rights and serious delinquency.¹² In the upper courts, an assembly of officials (*embetsmenn*) presided together, as was also the case in the Supreme Court.

⁸ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 28–29.

⁹ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," 32–33, and Eva Österberg and Erling Sandmo, "Introduction," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 12.

¹⁰ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," 27–30.

¹¹ Mona Ringvej, Hilde Sandvik and Kai Østberg, "Innledning," in *Demokratisk teori og historisk praksis*, ed. Hilde Sandvik (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2010), 12.

¹² Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde, *Speculum legale- Rettspegelen* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2005), 220–221.

Although the number of officially trained professionals first expanded more substantially during the course of the eighteenth century, lawyers had occasionally made an appearance in rural parts of Norway in the first half of the seventeenth century, representing, for example, individuals unable to help themselves.¹³ Trained lawyers would also sometimes be used in major towns from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, where they were called *procurators*.¹⁴ These officials had to contend with the scepticism commonly directed against the legal profession. As the presence of lawyers was often held to give rise to dispute and cause the common man to be tricked, the initial rules regulating lawyers in the Danish-Norwegian monarchy (issued in 1638), declared that the use of lawyers outside towns was prohibited, a ban repeated in Christian IV's Great Recess of 1643 as well as in Christian V's Norwegian Law of 1687. Underpinning these restrictions was the idea that Norwegian law was so simple to understand that no particular expertise was needed.¹⁵

The courts themselves were divided throughout much of the early modern period into a specifically tiered system. At the base were the lower district courts in the rural areas, courts made up of *lagrettemenn* and the sworn writer. Also counted as lower courts were a handful of privileged district courts, town courts, police courts and mining courts.¹⁶ The upper courts (*lagting*) were situated in towns, the High Court of Appeal (*overhoffretten*) in Christiania and the Supreme Court (*høyesteretten*) in Copenhagen.¹⁷ This hierarchical system, which was more firmly consolidated after 1590, allowed an appeals procedure that was intended to make court practice more uniform.¹⁸ Throughout the whole of the early modern period, however, other persons and institutions could also handle conflicts and maintain order in society, such as rectors, bishops, cathedral chapters, church councils, parish assemblies, village assemblies and neighbourhood associations.¹⁹

¹³ Sunde, *Speculum legale*, 214.

¹⁴ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," 39.

¹⁵ Sunde, *Speculum legale*, 213.

¹⁶ Sunde, "Fornuft og erfaringhet. Framveksten av metodisk medvit i dansknorsk rett på 1700-talet" (Dr. Juris. diss., University of Bergen, 2007), 91–92.

¹⁷ Dyrvik and Feldbæk, *Mellom brødre*, 108.

¹⁸ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," 45.

¹⁹ Eva Österberg, Malin Lennartsson and Hans Eyvind Næss, "Social Control Outside or Combined with the Secular Juridical Arena," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 243.

The function of the courts appears to have changed in the course of the early modern period. Initially their role had been to mediate reconciliation and compensation between parties in dispute, but they became less a means for arranging settlements and more an organ that issued judgments.²⁰ One of the main reasons for this shift was the establishment of other official bodies for handling cases that no longer had to be dealt with by a court. Arbitrary commissions for the settlement of disputes were set up in Denmark-Norway in the 1790s in order to handle cases that did not require legal court procedure, and a high number of cases were dealt with by such commissions. In Norway, for instance, 2,130 cases were brought before the ordinary lower courts in 1797, whereas over 31,000 cases were handled by the arbitrary commissions.²¹ Three forms of penalty were used in the legal system throughout the early modern period: fines, corporal punishment often in combination with public shaming, and imprisonment.²²

The type of cases dealt with in court also varied throughout the early modern period. In the broader Scandinavian setting, the high number of criminal cases relating to violence and sex were supplanted by civil suits relating to economic matters.²³ One of the reasons for the more frequent appearance of sexual crimes in court during the first part of the early modern period was that Nordic countries, like other Protestant territories, no longer recognised canon law as the foundation of their societies. This stance was inspired by Luther, who saw the massive law material of the Roman Catholic Church as drawing attention away from the spirit to the letter.²⁴ As a result of this scepticism towards canon law, Roman Catholic canon law was eventually replaced by Mosaic law as the means for confronting disorder and immorality. Crimes specified by the Mosaic laws were now more harshly punished and death sentences were passed more frequently.²⁵ In the latter stages

²⁰ Österberg and Sandmo, "Introduction," 18.

²¹ H. E. Næss and E. Österberg, "Sanctions, Agreements, Sufferings," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 145.

²² Næss and Österberg, "Sanctions, Agreements, Sufferings," 146–158.

²³ Sølvi Sogner, "Conclusion," in *People Meet the Law: Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts*, ed. Eva Österberg and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 275.

²⁴ James Muldoon, "Law: Canon Law," in *Europe 1450–1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, vol. 3, ed. Jonathan Dewald (New York: Thomsen Gale, 2004), 443.

²⁵ Tamm et al., "The Law and the Judicial System," 27–56.

of the early modern period, however, a more humane view of punishment began to arise, which led to a decline in the use of corporal punishment. Instead, penalties by which offenders were deprived of their freedom were more often applied. A prison system was gradually established, and capital punishment became increasingly rare.²⁶

These changes in the latter stages of the period covered by this study, and in the eighteenth century in particular, stemmed from the gradual decline of Christendom as the sole and binding authority on legal matters. Instead, secular governments began to take responsibility for cases that had previously fallen within the jurisdiction of the church and canon law.²⁷ Triggering novel discussions was the new focus on natural law (not necessarily bound to Roman law) and corresponding concepts of sovereignty, which provided new ways of confronting the complex post-Reformation situation where legal principles that could be applied to all human beings were needed. Fresh concepts of sovereignty were developed by Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes, and authors such as Christian Thomasius, Hugo Grotius (*De jure belli ac pacis*) and Samuel Pufendorf (*De jure naturae et gentium*) were important figures in developing a system of natural law independent of prescriptive Christianity. The principal works by these last two writers rapidly became the basis of legal studies, and in northern Europe their legacy was completed in the Enlightenment period in the work of Christian Wolff, professor at Halle, who established legal principles according to a deductive system of interpretation.²⁸ In this process, the legal sphere also gradually became more secular.

Law as taught at the University of Copenhagen was greatly inspired by the legal philosophy of Pufendorf, Thomasius and Wolff. In the late

²⁶ Næss and Österberg, "Sanctions, Agreements, Sufferings," 141–142.

²⁷ Muldoon, "Law," 443.

²⁸ Schmidt-Biggemann, "New Structures of Knowledge," 510–511. In line with Descartes, Spinoza and Leibniz, Wolff claimed that theoretical thought was able to grasp the metaphysical essence of man, cosmos and God in an *a priori* manner by employing a mathematical or demonstrative method, and in Wolff's case, that of Descartes. Wolff thus established a deductive system, whereby concrete legal rules were to be deduced from specific axioms or premises thought of as universal. Important works that influenced a new generation of lawyers were Wolff's *Ius Naturae* and his *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* of 1754. The various authors who wrote on natural law, however, continued to have religious, or metaphysical, motives: according to Wolff, for instance, the fundamental principle of natural law was the mutual perfection of all human beings. See, for instance, H. J. van Eikema Hommes, *Major Trends in the History of Legal Philosophy* (Amsterdam, New York and Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 142–144.

seventeenth century, several legal professors lectured on principles of natural law and domestic law, supplanting the primary teaching focus on Roman law. Important in spreading these theories was the professor and polymath Ludvig Holberg, who in 1716 published his *Moralske Kierne, eller Introduction til Naturens og Folkerettens Kundskap*. This legal work, highly indebted to the theories of Samuel Pufendorf and, to a lesser extent, Hobbes, was later translated into Swedish and German.

A range of other commentaries on Danish-Norwegian law and natural law were also published during the eighteenth century, such as the first tentative systematic presentation of Danish law, Engebret Hesselberg's *Juridisk Collegium* of 1753. Other juridical experts—for example, Heinrich Weghorst (d. 1722), Andreas Hojer (d. 1739) and Thomas Clitau (d. 1754)—also published legal works, not all of which, however, were uncritical of Wolff. Montesquieu similarly gained a reputation in the Danish-Norwegian legal sphere, not least because of his emphasis on the importance of tradition in the interpretation of legal rights. Peder Kofod Ancher (d. 1788) drew on Montesquieu in his history of Danish law, *En Dansk Lov-Historie I–II*.²⁹ As more works on natural law were translated, their dissemination also grew. Cesare Beccaria and Pufendorf, for instance, were translated into Danish in the eighteenth century, as was Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* and Wolff's *Vernüfftige Gedanken*.

The greatest expansion in officially educated juridical personnel took place after 1700. In part this development was the result of a desire for tighter regulation of court proceedings. Such control was obtained through two specific acts, the Procedural Act of 1735 and the Examination Act of 1736. The former made appeal compulsory in all major criminal cases, strengthening control of what happened in the lower courts and making it easier for the various juridical officials to control each other. Overall, the Procedural Act constituted a step towards a unified practice of law.³⁰

With the Examination Act of 1736, designed by Andreas Hojer, who had been educated at Halle, all judges, prosecutors and barristers were obliged to have obtained a law degree before they could assume positions as civil servants.³¹ As a result, the number of professors in law at Copenhagen University expanded from two in 1732 to four in 1788,

²⁹ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, 106.

³⁰ Sunde, *Speculum legale*, 202–205.

³¹ See Sunde “Fornuft og erfaring.”

while the number of law students also rose in the later eighteenth century in particular.³² Candidates who had not formally studied at Copenhagen were allowed to take a 'Danish exam'. The resultant qualification was based on the study of around 1,600 pages covering both natural law as well as Danish and Norwegian law, and could be obtained by passing an oral examination at the legal faculty or a written examination taken elsewhere within the borders of the twin monarchy. At least two-thirds of those aspiring to work as *procurator* or judge passed the Danish exam.³³ As a system, therefore, law changed over the course of the early modern period: at the beginning, law was often executed within two different spheres, a limited university sphere primarily focusing on Roman law and a lay sphere where the courts were dominated by non-educated officials; at the end, however, law had become a more unified and professionalised profession, in which communication between officials had been facilitated by more rigorous training and by a more deliberately designed legal apparatus.³⁴

7.2 Books on jurisprudence circulating among the various officials

Various book collections exemplify the complexity and development of the early modern legal field, examples being those belonging to Christian Stub, Paul Dons, Edvard Londemann, Jacob Leuch and Frederik Collin. Of these collectors, the first four were educated before 1750, although Leuch was educated some decades after Stub, Dons and Londemann. Although all had worked in, or participated in, various branches of the legal system, only Stub had had a more profound training in jurisprudence.

³² Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes universitet*, 235.

³³ Students of law could choose between three different exams, the most advanced of which would lead to *laudabilis*, the less demanding to *haud illaudabilis* and the least elaborate to *haud contemnendus*. All three, called 'Latin exams', dealt primarily with natural law and domestic law; see Sunde, "Fornuft og erfaringhet," 140–143, and Sunde, *Speculum legale*, 223–224. As an effect of the Examination Act of 1736 with its major focus on natural law, as well as of the inability of the previous casuistic legal principles to cope with the huge variation in legal cases, which multiplied in the course of the eighteenth century, casuistic legal principles were gradually superseded by methods aimed at coherence through the use of standardised terminology, principles, analogy, experience and open argumentation. This legal method was developed in Denmark-Norway first and foremost by the Copenhagen professor Peder Kofod Ancher; see also Sunde, "Fornuft og erfaringhet," 66.

³⁴ Sunde, "Fornuft og erfaringhet," 374–376.

Christian Stub (d. 1736) studied at the University of Copenhagen in 1715 and at Ehler's *Collegium* in the period 1716–1720. He appears to have had two main interests, Old Norse history and law, and he collected, as well as discovered, rare medieval manuscripts. He was also the author of a work on legal history, *Dissertatio I–IV historico-juridica de lege et legislatoribus danorum*, which was held in high esteem by the Copenhagen professor Peder Kofod Ancher. From 1728 onwards, Stub worked within the Bergen customs, a field where legal expertise must have been greatly needed, but lost his position in 1735. He died the following year in severe debt.³⁵ Paul Dons was educated at Copenhagen at the same time as Stub; he joined Ehler's *Collegium* from 1710 to 1711 and then Borch's *Collegium* from 1711 to 1715 (cf. 6.2). Like Stub, Dons worked within the legal sphere, for in addition to being city *medicus*, he served as mayor and presiding judge in Trondheim.

As we saw earlier, Edvard Londemann was baron of the estate of Rosendal (cf. 5.3). Although he received his education at the same time as Stub and Dons, he had no formal legal training. However, Londemann's estate included lands that had been granted their own privileged district court, a court separate from the ordinary judicial system and able to appoint its own judges and procurators. Probably out of personal interest, Londemann supervised the court proceedings from 1745 to 1749 and also instructed the judges.³⁶ Londemann must therefore have needed a certain juridical expertise. Jacob Leuch (d. 1767), the fourth book owner and a member of the wealthy Leuch family, who owned the estate of Bogstad, obtained his education some decades after Stub, Dons and Londemann. Like Londemann, Leuch would also have been acquainted with legal procedure and application, for probably as the result of family connections, he became a member of the city council in Christiania and was appointed to the magistrate as town clerk.

Londemann owned the largest book collection in terms of the total number of items, but his library contained the smallest number of legal

³⁵ NBL 15:159–162. NBL: *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, Oslo 1923–1983.

³⁶ This privileged district court counted as a lower court, which meant that appeal could be made from there to higher courts, while the owner of the estate, or his man-ciple, functioned as bailiff on the lands belonging to the estate; see Sunde, “‘Fornuft og erfaringenhet’” 105.

works, only around thirty.³⁷ Leuch owned approximately forty books that dealt with jurisprudence³⁸ and Dons approximately fifty.³⁹ Although he possessed the smallest book collection (around 170 volumes), Stub owned by far the greatest number of legal works and his collection was also the most professional of the four in terms of legal expertise, for about ninety works in his collection covered law, some in manuscript form.⁴⁰ Perhaps like other educated officials, Stub evaluated manuscripts and books as of equal importance. The majority of books in Stub's collection were published in the period 1650–1699, around fifty to hundred years prior to the book owner's death. In terms of date of printing, therefore, Stub's collection displays the same 'oldness' as did medical and theological books listed in the same period (cf. Chapters 4 and 6).

The legal works that were part of the collections of Stub, Dons, Londemann and Leuch have at least one important similarity—a basic core of Danish-Norwegian instructional books such as law codes, ordinances and recesses. Twenty-six of the approximately fifty juridical works in Dons's collection were of this type. These books were of both Danish-Norwegian and broader Scandinavian origin, and they were also a mixture of new and older, medieval works; the occurrence of the latter indicates that the medieval roots of the judicial system still attracted interest on the theoretical level. A number of legal works by Danish-Norwegian authors were included in the collections belonging to Stub, Dons, Londemann and Leuch (see table 21), which signals that treatises and other types of commentary of Scandinavian origin were of greater importance in the juridical field than they were to theology and medicine (cf. Chapters 4 and 6). As such, jurisprudence was more centred on domestic traditions than were theology and medicine.

The importance of Danish-Norwegian literature within the juridical field is also evident when we look at places of origin. Let us take the example of the books listed as in the possession of Christian Stub.

³⁷ *Catalogus librorum quos reliquit et regiae equestri Academiae Soranae legavit Edwardus Londemann de Rosencrone, Havniae, Typis Hæredum B. Ernesti Henrici Berlinii, 1750*; The National Library, Oslo.

³⁸ *Catalogus over afgangne Cancellie-Raad og Byeskriver Jacob Leuches Efterladte Faste og Løsøre Effecter, solgt 1768*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

³⁹ *Catalogus librorum praesertim medicinalium quas reliquit Dn. Paul Dons, Nidrosiae 1749*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

⁴⁰ Bergen stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, auction protocol number 15 (1734–1739), folio 169a–172b.

Place of publication is not always noted in the auction protocol, but where this is available to us, Copenhagen appears most frequently, followed by Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Leiden and Leipzig. Although Stub's collection of Scandinavian historical works adds to this high percentage of books printed in Copenhagen, it nevertheless seems as if juridical works of domestic origin were allotted a prominent position within the learned world of early modern jurisprudence, despite the fact that the number of theological works printed in the same period exceeded the number of those on jurisprudence.

Table 21: Scandinavian legal works in the book collections of Stub, Dons, Londemann and Leuch

An important asset of Stub's library was his collection of around twenty works on Danish, Norwegian and Swedish law, including a range of ordinances, articles and recesses, some in manuscript form, including, reportedly, a handwritten explanation of King Magnus the lawmender's medieval law. Of the several law corpuses included in Stub's collection, of particular note are the Norwegian Law of 1604, the Danish Law of 1683 and the Norwegian Law of 1687, as well as two versions of the Zealand Law ('Sjællandske lov'), one in German. The Jutland Law ('Jydske lov') and exemplars of the Scania Law ('Skånske lov') were also included, as was a medieval Icelandic law code and several Swedish legal corpuses including *Leges svecorum gothorumque* (compiled by Ragnvald Ingemund and Johannes Loccenius). Also included in Stub's library were several works written by Scandinavian authors and commenting on domestic laws or the legal system, such as three books by the above-mentioned Copenhagen professor of natural law Andreas Hojer, a former pupil of Christian Thomasius; one of these works was Hojer's *De nuptiis propinqvorum*, which dealt with marriage between close relatives. Other authors included the German-born Copenhagen professor Heinrich Weghorst (d. 1722), who, inspired by Grotius, wrote a range of juridical works, including commentaries on Roman law and the works of John Selden. Also listed are Weyle's practical manual *Glossarium juridicum* and his *Synopsis juris publici svecani*, and a treatise on maritime law written by the professor of law at Uppsala, Johannes Loccenius (d. 1677), mentioned above.

Like Stub, Dons also owned a range of law codes, such as several exemplars of Christian V's Danish and Norwegian Law, some

(Continued)

Table 21: (Cont.)

reportedly in the form of manuscripts. Dons also possessed a range of recesses, articles and ordinances, as well as the Zealand Law, the Jutland Law and a Swedish law corpus. Apart from law books and recesses, other Danish legal works also included in Dons's collection included Weyle's *Glossarium*, Andreas Hojer's *Collegium juridicum* and Isaak Cold's disputation *De juramento purgatorio* of 1740.

Some of the legal works in Leuch's collection were also of instructional character, law codes, ordinances, and recesses, for example. These included the Recess of Christian IV, the Jutland Law, the Danish Law of 1683 and the Norwegian Law of 1687. Other legal works by Danish authors are also listed, such as two copies of Weyle's *Glossarium*, one work by Andreas Hojer, and Otto Bull's register of Danish and Norwegian law (*Alphabetisk Register over Danske og Norske Lov*, 1743).

Londemann was also in possession of domestic works on jurisprudence that included Christian V's Danish Law of 1683 as well as a range of recesses. Also possibly of juridical interest was a work on the rules of matrimony (*Det hellige ecteskabs ordens regle*) by the bishop of Lund, Niels Palladius (d. 1560), and a work on laws and customs in ancient Israel as ordered by God (*Verdzlige low og skicke, effter huilcke Gud selff haffde befallit Israels folck oc menighet at styris oc regeris*) by the bishop of Bergen, Anders Mikkelsen Colding (d. 1615).

In addition to this distinctive core of instructional works in the book collections belonging to Stub, Dons, Londemann and Leuch, several other characteristics are also of note. First, repeating a pattern we have seen in the theological and medical book collections, a high number of authors appear in the four collections, both domestic and from outside Denmark-Norway. Second, and again replicating the theological and medical book collections (cf. Chapters 4 and 6), the majority of these works were written by German authors. However, despite the high number of different authors registered across the various book collections, very few authors appeared in more than two of them, and the majority of those who appear as bestsellers were German authors writing on natural law. Samuel Pufendorf was the only author of legal works to appear in all four collections; Hugo Grotius and Andreas Hojer were listed in three. It should also be noted that works written by the highly celebrated German professor of theology and philosophy Johann Franz Buddeus (d. 1729) also appeared in all four collections, Buddeus also being one of the most important theologians

of eighteenth century Norway in terms of book distribution (cf. 4.4). Buddeus, who was inspired by Descartes, Grotius, Pufendorf and Thomasius, also wrote on philosophy and jurisprudence, and in the book collections belonging to Stub, Dons, Londemann and Leuch, Buddeus was represented by a variety of theological and philosophical works and sometimes by legal works that would have contributed to developing the book collectors' legal knowledge.

The legal theories in the book collections belonging to these four collectors appear to represent a combination of the old and the new. Several authorities on Roman law are, for example, present. This mixture is certainly evident in the collection assembled by Stub, who, despite incorporating theories of contemporary natural law in his own legal works,⁴¹ also possessed a relatively high number of Roman law corpuses (see table 22). The pre-1750 registers record, however, a higher number of Roman law corpuses than does the listing for Leuch's collection, drawn up after 1750. Here is an indication of the growing influence of early modern natural law at the expense of other juridical traditions.

Table 22: Legal works belonging to Christian Stub

Several works on Roman law were included in Stub's book collection, examples of which are provided by two commentaries on Justinian's *Corpus juris* and Arthur Duck's *De usu et autoritate juris civilis Romanorum per dominia principum Christianorum*. Also included was the *Codex Theodosianus*, the legal code of the Roman Empire set out by Emperor Theodosius. Several works covered canon law, such as the edition of *Corpus juris canonici* compiled under the patronage of Gregory XIII and Innocentius Cironius, *Observationes iuris canonici in quinque libros digestas* (Jena & Leipzig 1726). Other commentaries on Roman law included two works by the French jurist and scholar of Roman law Jacques Cujas (d. 1590), *Paratitla in libr. Pand. & Digesti* and *Observatio juris & civilis*. In addition to Roman law corpuses, we find works on natural law by philosophers such as Grotius, Thomasius and Wolff in Stub's collection. Of these, Grotius was accredited with five works, including his *De jure belli ac pacis*, whereas two works were accredited to Thomasius, one of which was his *Fundamenta juris naturae et gentium ex sensu communi deducta*. Two works were by

(Continued)

⁴¹ DBL 15:161.

Table 22: (Cont.)

Pufendorf, his *De officio hominis et civis* and *De jure naturae et gentium*. Other legal works in Stub's collection included three works by Samuel Stryk (d. 1710), who lectured on the relationship between Roman law and Danish law at the University of Copenhagen. Two works are listed as by Georg Adam Struve (d. 1692), whose *Jurisprudentia romano-germanica forensis* came to be important particularly in the educational setting at Copenhagen University. This book, nicknamed *kleiner Struve*, was published several times over a period of more than hundred years;⁴² Stub appears to have owned both this work and Struve's *Syntagma jurisprudentia secundum ordinem pandectarum*. Stub's collection also included texts by the celebrated English lawyer John Selden (d. 1654), as well as by Hermann Conring (d. 1681) and Andreas Cludius (d. 1624); Cludius, a professor at Helmstadt, was the author of *Tractatus de jure sequestrationis*. Stub was also in possession of two books by Samuel Rachel (d. 1691), a professor of natural law at Kiel, *Tractatio de actionum moralium principibus* and *Instituto jurisprudentiae*,⁴³ *Commentarius de criminibus* by the professor of Roman law at Utrecht Antonius Matthaeus the Younger (d. 1654), *De quaestionibus & torturis reorum* by the professor of jurisprudence at Wittenberg Johannes Zanger,⁴⁴ and *De servitutibus tam urbanorum quam rusticorum praedictorum* by Bartholomaeus Cepolla (d. 1474), a professor of law at Padua.⁴⁵ His library also included one legal work each by Caspar Ziegler (d. 1690), a professor of jurisprudence at Wittenberg and Heinrich Giesebert (Gisebertus, born 1604), a German jurist. *Judicia de variis incontinentiae speciebus, seu legum censuras de adultero, polygamia, & concubinato, fornicatione, stupro, raptu, peccatis contra naturam, incestu & gradibus prohibitis* by Robert Sharrock (d. 1684), doctor of jurisprudence from Oxford and archdeacon of Surrey, also appears on Stub's listing.

The collection belonging to Dons is also made up of a mixture of older and more recent texts. Works on natural law include Philipp Reinhard Vitriarius's *Jus naturae & gentium* and Buddeus's *Selecta juris naturae & gentium*. There are also two works by Grotius (*De jure belli ac pacis*

⁴² Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, 90–91.

⁴³ AGL 3:1861.

⁴⁴ AGL 4:2149.

⁴⁵ AGL 1:1806–1807.

and *De mare libero*), one by Pufendorf, one by Georg Adam Struve, *Speculum juris metallici Oder Berg-Rechts Spiegel* by Sebastian Span (died 1640), *Systema jurisprudentiae medicae* by Michael Alberti (d. 1757) and *Legum mosaicarum forensium explanatio* by Wilhelm Zepper (d. 1607). Dons also owned two legal works referred to only as *Jus papale* and *Excerpta jure canonico*.

Londemann's collection likewise contained both old and new legal theory. Three works in his collection are referred to in the records as *Institutiones Justinianae*, indicating the first part of the already mentioned *Corpus juris civilis*. Londemann also seems to have favoured two particular legal authors. His collection contained several books by John Selden, including his *Titles of Honour*, *De dis syris*, *De jure naturali & gentium juxta disciplinam ebraeorum* and as many as four copies of his *Mare Clausum*, one of which was bound with *Apologia pro navigationibus hollandorum* by Marcus Boxhorn (d. 1653). In his *Mare Clausum*, Selden claimed that the sea could be appropriated just as land was. Londemann also possessed as many as seven works by Grotius, works which covered history, religion (for instance, *De veritate religionis Christianae*) and natural law (for instance, *De jure belli ac pacis*). A commentary on one of Grotius's historical works was also included, *Nota ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium americanarum* by Johannes de Laet (d. 1649); De Laet, a Flemish geographer and director of the Dutch West India Company, published one of the period's most heralded descriptions of the Americas. Pufendorf was represented by *De jure naturae & gentium*. Philipp Reinhard Vittrarius's *Institutiones juris naturae & gentium* had been published in Leiden in 1692. Londemann also possessed a work dealing more specifically with marriage law, namely, *De veteri ritu nuptiarum & jure connubiorum* by Barnabe Brisson, Antoine Hotman and François Hotman on Roman marital law.

The collection belonging to Jacob Leuch, educated some decades after Stub, Dons and Londemann, differs from the others. The majority of Leuch's legal works concerned natural law, indicative, as suggested above, of the growth of natural law at the expense of Roman law by the mid-eighteenth century. *Corpus juris civilis*, however, was included in Leuch's collection, as were *Elementa jurisprudentiae criminalis* by Johann Samuel Friedrich Boehmer (d. 1772), *Delineatio juris civilis* by Georg Beyer (d. 1714), *Jurisprudentia antiquitatum romanorum* by Johannes Gottlieb (d. 1741) and *Examen institutionum imperialium* by Joachim Hoop (Hopp, d. 1712); all four of these authors were German.

Many of the legal and philosophical works in Leuch's collection, however, were by Christian Wolff: in total, as many as eighteen works by Wolff or by authors writing commentaries on his systems were included in Leuch's collection. Also included in Leuch's collection were one work by Christian Thomasius and three by Pufendorf. Several other volumes dealt with natural law in the tradition of Pufendorf, Grotius and Wolff, including *Le droit de la nature* by Jean Barbeyrac (d. 1744), a prefaced translation of Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium*, *Principes du droit naturel* by Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (d. 1748), *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium, methodo geomterica* by Johann Friedrich Weidler (d. 1755), and *Critique de l'Esprit des loix* by Jean-Baptiste Louis de La Roche (d. 1780). The inclusion of French works in Leuch's book collection is symptomatic of the structural changes which took place in the book market in the mid-eighteenth century (cf. Chapter 8).

Further changes in the legal sphere in the later eighteenth century are attested by the collection of legal works belonging to Frederik Collin (d. 1802), already mentioned as the owner of various works on venereal diseases (cf. 7.3).⁴⁶ Collin, who was educated after 1750, ended his career as *generalauditeur*, supervising the military court in Norway, and one of his tasks was to give the court legal advice in complicated cases. Trials for more extreme crimes were also held before the *generalauditeur*. Characteristic of Collin's book collection is the almost complete absence of works on Roman law—only one work of this type is included, Justinian's *Institutiones*. The few European works on natural law were by Montesquieu, Wolff, and Grotius. Of Wolffian character, however, was *La belle Wolfienne* by Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey (d. 1797), a kind of novel written to promote Wolffian philosophy.

The majority of legal works in Collin's collection were written by Danish-Norwegian authors; several of these were in the contemporary natural law tradition. Collin's collection also included a range of novel decrees and ordinances, several published in the late eighteenth century (see table 23). The works included in Collin's collection therefore reflect the growing use of the vernacular by domestic authors in works that appeared on the market in ever greater quantity over the course of

⁴⁶ *General auditeur Collins efterladte Bøger, som ved Auction bliver bortsolgt, den førstkommande, Trondhiem 1802, Trykt hos W. Stephanson*; The National Library, Oslo.

the eighteenth century, and in its final decades in particular. Again, a pattern evident in the collections of both clerics and physicians can also be discerned in the libraries of legal officials: all three groupings were more likely to include vernacular works in their collections as the eighteenth century progressed, a trend that grew most rapidly towards the end of this period. Some owners of legal works did, however, include a higher number of books originating outside Scandinavia than Collin. Works by the Cameralist Joachim Georg Darjes (d. 1791), for instance, were often included in late eighteenth-century book collections belonging to officials in the legal system.⁴⁷ The book collection belonging to *Conferenzraad* Lachmann, prepared for auction in 1797, included Darjes' *Natur und Völker-Recht*.⁴⁸

Examination of the collections owned by Dons, Stub, Londemann, Leuch and Collin reveals a number of common traits in the works on jurisprudence among officials working in the legal field. First, a large proportion were of Danish-Norwegian origin, a percentage that increased significantly towards the end of the eighteenth century. Many of these works were in manuscript form, which signals that manuscripts also constituted important sources for juridical discourse. Second, a range of legal texts had originated outside Scandinavia; many of these works were of German origin. Third, a comparison of the contents of the various collections attests to Roman law's gradual loss in importance in favour of theories of natural law promoted by authors such as Wolff, Grotius and Pufendorf, a shift that occurred in other northern European countries at approximately the same time.

7.3 *Books on jurisprudence owned by other sections of society*

Not only those trained in jurisprudence or serving within the legal system had an interest in collecting works on jurisprudence. Theologians might be asked for advice in legal matters or serve as advisers to the general population. Many clerics, however, often possessed only a small number of legal works that were mainly of instructional character,

⁴⁷ Findings based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book collections, see appendix 1.

⁴⁸ *Catalogus over endeel afg. Conferentzraad Lachmanns Stervboe tilhørende: Bøger, Carter, og videre, som ved Auction... den 31te Majj 1797 og følgende tvende Dage ... til Højstbydende bliver bortsolgt, trykket i Christiania; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.*

Table 23: Legal works belonging to Frederik Collin

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- O. J. Bulls *alphabetiske Register over danske og norske Lov* (Bull's Register of the Danish and Norwegian Law), Copenhagen 1743.
 - P. Kofod Anchers *Svar paa juridiske Spørgsmaale* (Ancher's Answers to Juridical Questions), Cph. 1779.
 - Forordninger, som ere udgangne siden Resessen 1643 til 1664 (Decrees 1643–1664), Cph. 1664.
 - 10 stk. Forordninger, som ere udgangne fra 1670–1765 (10 Decrees 1670–1765).
 - *Anvisning til at finde hvoraf Christian den 5tes Lov er taget* (Manual on the Origin of Christian V's Law), Cph. 1762
 - J. B. Dons *Anmærkninger til Hesselbergs Juridiske Collegium* (Dons's Notes on Hesselberg's Juridiske Collegium), Cph. 1763.
 - *Danmarks Rigis Lov* (The Law of Denmark), Cph. 1654.
 - Clausens *Veiviser til Lov og Forordning Connexion* (Clausen's Manual on the Connections between Laws and Decrees), Cph. 1737.
 - *Register over Christian den 5tes danske Lov* af C. Leth (Register of Christian V's Law, by Leth), Cph. 1735.
 - *Christian den 4des Reses* (The Recess of Christian IV), Cph. 1643.
 - *Den norske Lov* (The Norwegian Law), Cph. 1604.
 - *Anmærkninger over den danske Lov*, manuscript (Notes on the Danish Law, manuscript).
 - Colbiörnsens *Juridiske Collegium* (Colbiörnsen's Juridiske Collegium).
 - Tvende andre Juridiske Collegier-Manuser (two other legal manuscripts).
 - *Inleiding tot de hollandsche Rects Geleertheyd* by Hugo de Groot, Gravenhage 1631.
 - *Domsakten i M. C. Bruuns Sag* (The Verdict in the Case of M. C. Bruun).
 - Stenersen *om Lovkundskab for den norske Landmand* (Stenersen On Legal Knowledge for Commoners), Cph. 1783.
 - A. Hoyer's *Juridiske Collegium*, udgivet af Hedegaard (Hoyer's Juridiske Collegium, by Hedegaard), Cph. 1764.
 - P. K. Ankers *Anviisning for en dansk Jurist* (Ancher's Directions for a Danish Jurist), Cph. 1755.
 - Schou's *Register over Forordninger*, 9 Bind (Schou's Register of Decrees, 9 volumes), Cph. 1777–1788.
 - *Den danske lov* (The Danish Law).
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Table 23: (Cont.)

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- *Den norske Lov* (The Norwegian Law).
 - En dito (one ditto).
 - En dito (one ditto).
 - Larsons *Register over Forordningerne* (Larson's Register of Decrees).
 - Montesquieu *de L'Esprit des Loix*, Cph. 1759.
 - *Observations sur L'Esprit des Loix*, Amsterdam 1751.
 - C. D. Hedegaards *Juridiske Anmærkninger* (Hedegaard's Legal Notes, 2 vol.), Cph. 1764.
 - M. Nissens *Extract af Forordninger* (Nissen's Extract from the Recesses).
 - *Criminal Retten* (The Criminal Court), Cph. 1760.
 - *Juridisk Collegium*, Trondheim 1770.
 - P. K. Ancher *om Slegtskabs Led* (Ancher On Kinship), Chp. 1765.
 - Wolff *Nachricht von seinen Schriften*, Frankfurt 1757.
 - L. Holbergs *Natur Ret* (Holberg's Natural Law).
 - *Sverriges Lag* (The Swedish Law), Stockholm 1734.
 - L. Evensens *Juridiske Samlinger* (Evensen's Legal Collections), Trondheim 1784.
 - *Patriotiske Oplysninger om Handelen* (Patriotic Notes on Trade), Cph. 1787.
 - Lybeckers *Udtag af Forordningerne* (Lybecker's Extract of the Recesses), Cph. 1775.
 - *Justiniani institutiones*, Amsterdam 1658.
-

as is attested by the books belonging to the clerics Augustinius Røg, Daniel Hveding, Peder Hind and Christen Krog, all of whom served in the northern Norwegian regions of Senja and Troms in the very early part of the eighteenth century (see table 24):⁴⁹ the collections belonging to these clergymen included just a handful of legal works that primarily dealt with matrimony or old Mosaic law. Bibles registered in some of the collections might also have been used as a source of legal, or for that matter moral, advice.

⁴⁹ All the book collections are registered in the Troms & Senja clerical probate records, volume 1, microfilm HF 2056 (1697–1761). The book registration of Daniel Hveding (registered in 1707) starts on folio 32b, that of Augustinius Røg (1710) on folio 39, that of Peder Hind (1721) on folio 50, and that of Christen Krog (1726) on folio 80b. See also Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence," 380.

Table 24: Juridical books owned by clerics in northern Norway

Augustinius Røg	Den gamle moselov med kirkeordinance (The Old Mosaic law & Church Ordinance)
	Compendium legis veterum testamentum
Daniel Hveding	Corpus juris matrimonialis
	Christian IV's Recess
	Christian IV's Church Ordinance
Peder Hind	Christian V's Norwegian Law
Christen Krog	Corpus juris matrimonialis

Other clerics did own a more substantial number of legal works. Let us look for example at the collection belonging to the cleric Jens Møinichen, who was born in Copenhagen in 1642.⁵⁰ Møinichen's father, Morten, was a surgeon, and his brother Henrik, whose god-mother was Queen Sofie Amalie, ended his career as physician to the king. Møinichen served most of his career in northern Norway. He was appointed parson of the northern town of Bodø and dean of Salten. Only towards the end of his life was he located further south, as parson of the Nykirke in Bergen. Several of Møinichen's children also obtained prominent positions, and some of them continued to live in the northern part of Norway where Møinichen had spent most of his working life as a parson. When Møinichen died in 1712, twelve years after his appointment as dean of the Nykirke in Bergen, he left a collection amounting to more than 500 books.

Møinichen spent most of his working life in northern Norway, a place often considered to be the heartland of irreligion and sorcery. In early modern Norway, around 300 people, mostly women, were executed on suspicion of sorcery; the last death sentence for such crimes was carried out in 1695. The three northernmost regions of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark were most often the scene of these trials and 31 per cent of all trials where the death sentence was passed were conducted in Finnmark.⁵¹ Some of those affected were Lapps.⁵² Although

⁵⁰ For Møinichen's book collection, see Bergen stipendiary magistrate and town clerk, clerical probate record number B. St 1a (1685–1714); the listing of books starts on folio 201. For an outline of Møinichen's life and career, see Gina Dahl, "Opplysning og trolldom. Et eksempel fra 1600-tallets Nordland," *Din* 4/1 (2002/3): 37–42.

⁵¹ Gilje and Rasmussen, *Tankeliv i den lutherske stat*, 235.

⁵² See for instance Rune Hagen, "Harmløs dissenter eller djevelsk trollmann? Trolldomsprossen mot samene Anders Poulsen i 1692," *Historie* 2/3 (2002): 319–346.

these trials were a thing of the past by the time Møinichen settled in northern Norway, he must have felt the need to be acquainted with the law in connection with sorcery and its punishment. And he did take part in a trial in which the devil was part of the narrative: in Salten, the voice of a baby's ghost claimed that Nille, one of the women working on the farm where the voice was heard, was responsible for the child's murder. Although Nille confessed to the crime and was sentenced to death, Møinichen believed that she was innocent. According to Møinichen, Nille believed in the ghost's story only because the devil was playing with her mind. Møinichen, as was obligatory in the case of a serious crime, appealed the case to a higher court.⁵³

Quite a number of books in Møinichen's collection concerned jurisprudence. Most of these works, about fifteen altogether, dealt with Danish-Norwegian law. Several law corpuses were included, including the medieval law code *Norske hird skraa*, as were several copies of Christian IV's Law and a work referred to solely as 'An old Danish law-book'. We also find ordinances and recesses, and book five of *Juris regii libri VI* (1663–1672) by the Copenhagen professor Hans Wandal (d. 1675), a work which outlined the jurisdiction of the absolute monarch. Weyle's *Glossarium juridicum* appeared here, and also in several of the book collections mentioned previously. The several Bibles listed, as well as a work referred to as 'the five books of Moses', might have constituted sources of legal advice for Møinichen. Some works of non-Scandinavian origin were also included in his collection, notably a German tract on jurisprudence from 1641 and an anonymous work on Reformed ecclesiastical law, as well as *Legum mosaicarum forensium explanatio*, the explanation of the juridical laws of Moses by Reformed theologian Wilhelm Zepper (d. 1607), and Samuel Pufendorf's *De officio hominis*. His library also included Anders Mikkelsen Colding's work on laws and customs in ancient Israel (*Verdzlige low og skicke*) and a work referred to only as *Consilia juridica*.

A number of books in Møinichen's collection dealt more explicitly with sorcery and the work of the devil, books that originated both within and outside Scandinavia. Perhaps these works were valuable in helping Møinichen understand the alleged works of the devil in the natural world. Included in the collection were the harsh condemnation of sorcery *Jonae prophetis skjøne historia vdi 24. predicken* by the Norwegian cleric Jørgen Eriksen and *Et forførdeligt huus-kaars*, on

⁵³ Dahl, "Opplysning og trolldom," 37–42.

sorcery in the town of Køge, by the cleric Johan Brunsmann. Møinichen also owned a book refuting sorcery, Johannes Weyer's *De praestigiis daemonum*, first printed in 1563; Weyer was one of the earliest opponents to the persecution of witches. He also possessed a book on spectres or ghosts, namely, *Magica seu mirabilium historiarum de spectris* by Henning Grosse (d. 1621), and *Dissertatio critico-philosophica de variis superstitionibus* by Sixtus Aspach (b. 1672). In this latter work, Aspach, Møinichen's son-in-law, proposed that fauns and fairies were real, but of devilish origin. These books were part of the scientific debate of their age—several late seventeenth-century dissertations at the University of Copenhagen, for instance, discussed ghosts.⁵⁴ Møinichen was therefore well equipped, at least in theory, to confront the more 'heathen' population of the north.

By the late eighteenth century, clerics would also possess more works that engaged with contemporary debate. An example is provided by the book collection belonging to the cleric Gerdt Geelmuyden that was auctioned off in Bergen in 1781.⁵⁵ Included here, in addition to some recesses and ordinances, were books such as Grotius's *De jure belli ac pacis*, Holberg's work on natural law (*Introduction til Naturens og Folkerettens Kundskab*) and two works by Pufendorf, *De jure naturae & gentium* and *De officio hominis*. We also find listed three works by Johann Franz Buddeus, recorded as *Gewissens Rath*, *Elementa philosophiae practicae* and *Elementa philosophiae instrumentalis*.

Ownership of books of jurisprudence beyond the circles of legal officials and clerics suggests that legal works, like medical texts, were a standard part of any learned library of the period. Some of these works were practical law corpuses, but the number of books on natural law circulating among the upper middle classes, the bourgeoisie included, seems to have expanded in the later eighteenth century. This social class purchased a significant number of works by authors such as Christian Wolff, Pufendorf, Grotius, Montesquieu and Thomasius,⁵⁶ and a range of books by Danish-Norwegian authors was also included in their book collections. Ludvig Holberg with his work on natural law,

⁵⁴ Velle Espeland, *Spøkelse! Hvileløse gjengangere i tradisjon og historie* (Oslo: Humanist forlag, 2002), 54.

⁵⁵ *Catalogus over afgangne Consistorial-Raad Gerdt Geelmuydens efterladte og vel-conditionerede Bøger, som Førstkommende 17de April og følgende Dage, [...], ved Auction skal bortsælges, Bergen 1781, Dedechen*; Bergen University Library.

⁵⁶ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 234–235.

for instance, seems to have been a desirable acquisition for many collectors. Also increasingly popular were works by the judges Christian Ditlev Hedegaard (d. 1781) and Engebret Hesselberg (d. 1788), the latter the author of the apparently widely disseminated *Juridisk Collegium* (1753).⁵⁷

But legal works were also received by other elements of the population, including the rural lower class. Some legal works seem to have been in circulation among this section of the population as early as in the sixteenth century; many of these works were of the instructional type. Book dissemination also suggests that one of the most popular law codes was Christian V's Norwegian Law of 1687. During the course of the eighteenth century, it also seems as if a wider layer of the population became acquainted with novel theories of natural law, but only after 1800, works on natural law were circulating more frequently among the broader rural population.⁵⁸ Overall numbers would suggest that the number of legal works in circulation generally rose from 1700 onwards, and from the mid-eighteenth century in particular, a trend made possible by the increased quantity of juridical literature published in the vernacular this period, a production partly nurtured by the introduction of the Examination Act, which generated a greater demand for juridical literature, and partly by a growing desire among the population to become acquainted with their individual legal rights.⁵⁹ This increased number of legal works circulating among all sections of the eighteenth-century population coincided with the general eighteenth-century expansion of the book market as well with a parallel rise in the dissemination of manuals of a utilitarian type (cf. Chapter 8).

The distribution of juridical literature varied across different sections of society. The material in the possession of the educated classes, for example, was distinguished by its range. At the same time, more of these juridical works owned by professionals were of Scandinavian origin than were the books owned by theologians and physicians, a reflection of the importance of national law codes and associated literature. The occurrence of juridical literature written in the vernacular seems to have increased even further during the eighteenth century, but

⁵⁷ Findings based on the survey of late eighteenth-century book collections, see appendix 1.

⁵⁸ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 269.

⁵⁹ Sunde, "Fornuft og erfarenhet", 149–153.

juridical literature from other parts of Europe, often Germany, also ended up in book collections assembled by educated Norwegians.

The learned book collections also testify to one particular change in the legal sphere over the course of the early modern period—the gradual decline in importance of Roman law in favour of contemporary natural law. Although those practising law tended to possess the largest and most elaborate compilations of legal works, ownership of such literature was not limited to this social grouping. The main interest of the broader population was in instructional law codes written in the vernacular, although the increased publication of legal works in the late eighteenth century helped acquaint this part of society with theories of natural law. It can be argued that the printing and dissemination of more erudite works in the vernacular reduced the gap in judicial knowledge between the different sections of the popular, a model that can also be applied to medical and theological knowledge.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ENLIGHTENMENT AND EXPANSION

8.1 *Enlightenment and change*

“If no single concept or metaphor can summarise adequately an epoch lasting a century, the one word that best bridges all aspects of the eighteenth century is ‘expansion.’” These are the opening words of T. C. W. Blanning in his introduction to *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*.¹ This expansion is noticeable in all areas of activity and includes a significant increase in the amount of printed material available and an increasing number of ‘extensive’ readers: whereas before the mid-eighteenth a reader would usually read a limited number of mainly religious books, later in the century he or she would typically read a higher number of books of more varied character. This process, referred to as a “reading revolution”, thrived on the booming number of different types of print available, including novels, newspapers and periodicals. Reading, at least in theory, “divorced print from its sacral context and profaned it.”²

Many labels have been used to denote the core ideas of the Enlightenment: tolerance, liberty, the rationalisation of religion, secularisation, modernisation, education, the struggle against superstition, the pursuit of wealth and scientific advancement. The tendency in Enlightenment studies to focus on the works of the philosophers has restricted the movement to a limited number of elite thinkers, a path followed by authors such as Ernst Cassirer³ and Peter Gay.⁴ A different approach has been taken by authors who stress the intellectual legacy of a wide range of activists. Jonathan I. Israel, for instance, points out in both his *Radical Enlightenment* and his *Enlightenment Contested* that there were two strands of thought in the Enlightenment—the

¹ T. C. W. Blanning, “Introduction: The Beneficiaries and Casualties of Expansion,” in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.

² Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 92.

³ Ernst Cassirer, *La philosophie des lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1966).

⁴ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Norton, 1977).

moderate mainstream represented by philosophers such as Christian Wolff and John Locke, and their radical counterparts, the names of many of whom have been forgotten today.⁵ At stake in their debates were ideas of equality, toleration, democracy and individual freedom, issues on which radicals adopted uncompromising stances. Other historians have also downplayed the pivotal influence of a handful of acknowledged philosophers, but by claiming that their impact never penetrated far below the elite in many eighteenth-century European societies. As a result, the mental world of ordinary inhabitants “did not extend very far beyond the boundaries of their social world.”⁶ The difficulties in distinguishing between the enlightened and non-enlightened have also been emphasised in recent scholarship, where voices claim that the Enlightenment was a down-to-earth trend experienced by a much broader stratum of the population than previously assumed.⁷

Whatever the main characteristics of the Enlightenment may have been, this period certainly merited its description as the era of commercialisation. The world of print was part of the rapid expansion of the market: across eighteenth-century Europe, both the number of authors as well as the volume of available printed material grew greatly. Particularly significant was the rising popularity of the novel (cf. 9.2). The printing of books of this type boomed in the later eighteenth century in particular: in Germany, for instance, 907 titles were printed in the years from 1781 to 1790, as opposed to seventy-three in the ten years from 1750 to 1760.⁸ Popular novelists were those writing mainly epistolary novels, such as Samuel Richardson (*Clarissa*), Johann

⁵ See Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002), and Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*.

⁶ Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 235.

⁷ See S. J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and Religion: The Myths of Modernity* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 205–209. Other historians have also located the Enlightenment beyond the close circle of ‘grand philosophes’: Robert Darnton, for instance, has claimed that one could just as well look at administrative history in order to find the real thrust behind reformism; see Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 233–234. In Protestant states cameralism, often an impetus for the reforms of an ‘enlightened monarch’, supported a type of politics that regulated the economy as well as “the social and physical lives of the people”; see Julian Swann, “Politics and State in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23–24. Such actions, however, could in many ways be inspired by, even congruent with, central enlightened thought; see Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36.

⁸ Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 94.

Wolfgang von Goethe (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*La Nouvelle Héloïse*). Biographies and autobiographies, sometimes in the form of published diaries and memories, also found a significant market, as did travel literature and pornography. A sales item peculiar to the Enlightenment was the encyclopedia, which had its antecedents in the various *florilegia* and *miscellanea* of the previous centuries. If we consider an encyclopedia to be a reference work organised alphabetically, then the eighteenth century was the heyday of such publications, the most famous of which was that by Diderot and d'Alembert.⁹ Newspapers, magazines, journals and gazettes were also disseminated at a high rate. Britain was at the forefront of this process: about 2.5 million copies of newspapers were sold there in 1713, a number that had risen to approximately 12.6 million by 1775.¹⁰ The number of works published in the vernacular grew as the number of works in Latin declined.

Linked to this increase in printed material was the growing number of organisations, such as private and public lending libraries, where literature could be acquired, read and, sometimes, debated. The number of reading rooms also increased and some of these were attached to bookstores. Clubs, learned academies, Masonic lodges, coffee houses and salons—the last of these often centred on a particular hostess—were also places where a varied range of literature could be read and discussed. According to Jürgen Habermas, these institutions represent the new arenas of debate characteristic of the “transformation of the public sphere” that it has been suggested took place in this period.¹¹ Those who partook in such activities were often from the bourgeoisie, a term, however, that yet has to be fully defined. The term ‘bourgeoisie’ has been used as an equivalent of the middle class that was often but not always found in an urban context, but it has also been employed to denote the group of people who were full members of urban society (cf. also Chapter 1). As a result of this blurring of the category of the ‘bourgeoisie’, some scholars use the word ‘townspeople’ in order to locate the Enlightenment socially,¹² which also signals that the

⁹ Frank A. Kafker, “Encyclopedias,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 1, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 398.

¹⁰ Swann, “Politics and State,” 41.

¹¹ Habermas, *Bürgerlich offentlichet*.

¹² Christof Dipper, “Orders and Classes: Eighteenth-Century Society under Pressure,” in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 85–88.

expansion of the eighteenth-century book market was a phenomenon with a certain urban locus.

The differences in book distribution between urban and rural areas in many ways challenge the idea of a more profound change in eighteenth-century book distribution and reading patterns. Robert Darnton, who claims that there was a marked difference between the book culture of Paris and that of the provinces, points to the enormous quantity of religious material still circulating on the popular book market.¹³ One of the reasons for the tenacity of traditional religious works was that across Europe the elementary education of children continued to remain mainly in the hands of the clergy. Much of the literature published during the Enlightenment in France, and probably also in other European countries, was written by clerics; far less was by members of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie.¹⁴ In light of the large quantity of traditional works in circulation, it has been claimed that intensive reading of religious works did not cease in the eighteenth century, but rather persisted well into the nineteenth century and that as a result a mass reading public did not yet exist in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Similarly, if we link the new literary tastes and reading patterns to demographical statistics, shifts in reading practice were likely to have had only limited import, for eighteenth-century European societies were predominantly agrarian: even as late as ca. 1800, as much as 78 per cent of the population still resided in the countryside and only 21 per cent belonged to the bourgeoisie in the sense that they lived in a town.¹⁶ The predominance of the rural population was also the case in Norway although as the number of Norwegian towns grew in the eighteenth century, so too did the number of urban citizens.

8.2 *The Norwegian case: structural changes in the world of books*

In the Norwegian context, the Enlightenment era is generally confined to the period 1750–1800. Two specific processes that took place in this

¹³ Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 238–251.

¹⁴ See Robert Darnton, “The Facts of Literary Life in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 1 of *The Political Culture in the Old Regime*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1987), 274–275, and Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge*, 25.

¹⁵ Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 91, 104.

¹⁶ Horst Möller, “Bourgeoisie,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 1, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 173.

period had an impact on the number of types of printed work available and on the number of purchasers. First, a remarkable growth in population combined with a concurrent growth in wealth resulting from the exploitation of natural resources created a situation where more people than ever before had the financial means to buy books. Second, the public sphere became gradually less restricted, creating a more open Norwegian society by the end of the eighteenth century.

Although agriculture remained the main means of support for the broad population of early modern Norway, in large part as a result of the rising mercantilist aspirations of the government, Norway developed a remarkably varied economy that thrived on fishing, timber, iron and copper, as well as on silver and glass production. The market for these commodities from Norway lay largely overseas, principally in north-western Europe, in countries such as Germany, England and the Netherlands, although the western regions of Norway also developed trade routes to southern Europe (cf. Chapter 1).

In the later eighteenth century in particular, participation in trade gradually expanded as a result of a liberalisation of the economy through the abolishment of certain monopolies.¹⁷ The flourishing economy that resulted coincided with a considerable growth in population and a gradual urbanisation of various coastal areas, not least from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.¹⁸ Numerous small towns grew up along the coastline and the number of town inhabitants grew proportionately (cf. Chapter 1). These town dwellers followed a variety of occupations ranging from official administrative posts to positions within manufacturing and trade. The majority of urban inhabitants, however, were manual workers or servants.

The uppermost levels of society had the greatest economic capacity, but the particular eighteenth-century redistribution of resources also enabled a wider range of people to spend money on new domestic and luxury articles such as textiles, sugar and coffee. In the Norwegian setting this development is often referred to as an “industrious revolution,” an event signified by a rise in the supply of and demand for a whole range of new products.¹⁹ Characteristic of this transformation

¹⁷ Dyrvik and Feldbæk, *Mellom brødre*, 13, 103–104.

¹⁸ Dyrvik and Feldbæk, *Mellom brødre*, 63.

¹⁹ Sogner, *Krig og fred*, 304. For a general introduction to the theme, see Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

was the increase in the amount of printed material offered and purchased. Yet although more material was written and printed during the course of the eighteenth century, this development did not necessarily take place on Norwegian soil. The number of printing houses in Norway only expanded significantly after 1800, before which date the bulk of the books on the Norwegian market were imported (cf. 2.2). Also important to book dissemination was the second-hand market that expanded significantly during the second half of the eighteenth century and, more specifically, the various book auctions that were mainly held in larger towns (cf. 2.3). Given these conditions, more people were now able to select and purchase a more varied array of works. This is not to suggest, however, that in previous centuries people had been unable to get hold of desired books, but rather that as more people had more money to spend, they also had books to choose from in an expanding market. Certainly, as much of this book trade was situated in towns, people living in rural areas did not have the same advantages in their access to books.

The increase in printed material was by and large a product of the interest in enlightening the masses, whether in religious, economic, practical, political or philosophical terms. Print was issued in order to educate and inform all levels of society on matters considered important by those in power; at the same time, however, the press could also be used for more open criticism of official institutions or social conditions as restrictions on its output diminished. Traditionally, at least in theory, relatively closely supervised, the press was relieved of such control during the reign of Struensee, who ruled on behalf of the insane King Christian VII (cf. Chapter 2). Struensee (d. 1772) not only abolished censorship, but also introduced a range of other changes, in church rituals for instance. His support for a free press led to a significant growth in the printing of books, periodicals, magazines and so forth, many of which were written in a polemical tone critical of the official politics of the day.²⁰ Restrictions were quickly reintroduced, but a new type of public sphere had taken shape, a public sphere that contained space for a greater range of opinions to be voiced than had been permitted in previous centuries.²¹ Still, we must understand the situation as one in which some freedom of the press was “tolerated but not

²⁰ Ole Feldbæk, “For Norge, Kiæmpers Fødeland. Norsk kritikk og identitet 1770–1773,” *Historie* 1/73 (1994): 26–37.

²¹ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 231.

guaranteed," obliging authors themselves to continue to carry out a certain degree of self-censorship.²²

In line with the *Zeitgeist*, Enlightenment thought was promulgated in various milieus. The influential and noble Bernstorff family dominated Danish political life for decades and its members encouraged writers, artists, scholars and officials from abroad to settle in Denmark. Among the Germans they supported were the poet Friedrich Klopstock, the economist and botanist Georg Christian Oeder and Johann Andreas Cramer, editor of the weekly *Der Nordische Aufseher*, which was issued in the period 1758–1761.²³ New texts and trends were discussed in various Masonic lodges, lending libraries, clubs, salons and coffee houses. Although these organisations were mainly a Copenhagen phenomenon, a circle of debate centred around the theologian and poet Claus Fasting (d. 1791) in Bergen, who, inspired by Voltaire, edited the periodical *Provinzialblade* (1778–1781), which gained a broad readership. From 1772, the Norwegian literary society *Det Norske Selskab* met in the coffee house of Madame Juel in Copenhagen, a society which also became a centre for debate. Scientific societies, as well as a range of patriotic societies, were also established in this period. The numerous patriotic societies aimed to promote economic growth and distributed writings on topics such as agrarian reform in order to increase productivity; they also established schools and libraries for the general public.²⁴

If the Enlightenment was a phenomenon of the upper- or upper-middle class, how was this reflected in book distribution in Norway? First, religious books became less dominant in learned book collections during the second half of the eighteenth century. The total number of religious works on the market did not necessarily decline, but rather, religious books now occupied a more limited space in a market overflowing with other types of literature that the reading audience craved.²⁵ This interest in non-religious works is also evident in other parts of Europe: by the late eighteenth century, books borrowed from German, English and North American libraries were mainly novels

²² Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 247.

²³ Jacob Christensson, "Scandinavia," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 4, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24.

²⁴ Juliane Engelhardt, "Borgerskab og fællesskab. De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769–1814," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 1/106 (2006): 33–63.

²⁵ Gina Dahl, "Opplysningsens arkeologi- et bokhistorisk blikk på opplysnings-tiden," *Din* 2/3 (2007): 103.

(70 per cent); less than 1 per cent of those borrowed were of religious character.²⁶ Second, a new level of professionalisation is also noticeable across late eighteenth-century private libraries, suggesting that in a world of growing specialisation, the educated population who possessed only a relatively moderate number of books seem to have concentrated on purchasing books within their own field of scholarly interest.²⁷

The origins of the authors whose works were disseminated in Norway also changed somewhat during the course of the eighteenth century. Before 1750, it seems as if most members of the upper middle class purchased books by authors of German, Dutch or English (sometimes Welsh and Scottish) origin; their books were most frequently written in Latin, followed by German, English and Dutch.²⁸ Relatively few of their books were in the vernacular. After 1750, the number of works of German origin remained high. This trend can be discerned from sales catalogues of new books that have been preserved from the period 1750–1815 in which 70 per cent of the book titles listed were in German,²⁹ although several of these works were translations of works originating in other European countries. Intellectual life in Norway was located within a German tradition throughout the whole of the early modern period.

As to books originating beyond Germany, the Dutch presence is less significant after 1750. The English impact, however, continued, although works of English origin were very often to be found in German translation. Much of this translated literature consisted of novels and travel accounts (cf. Chapter 9), which indicates that philosophers from the British Isles had only limited impact on Norwegian intellectual life, at least as far as we can judge from the distribution of books. Some authors are exceptions to this rule: John Locke and David Hume, for instance, occasionally occur in some late eighteenth-century book collections. On the rise, however, were works written by domestic authors, suggesting that books in the vernacular had now become a standard asset of upper-middle-class book collections instead of featuring mainly in the collections of the less educated. Vernacular works covered topics ranging from the natural sciences to

²⁶ Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 18.

²⁷ Dahl, "Opplysningens arkeologi," 103.

²⁸ See statistics in Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence."

²⁹ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 220.

history and included novels. Also thriving in late eighteenth-century learned book collections were works promoting the royal family. Various laudatory writings about King Frederik V and his English-born wife, Queen Louise, frequently occur in the different collections.³⁰

An increased proportion of the contents of eighteenth-century learned libraries was generated by works by French authors. Literature in French, however, although more readily available from the mid-century onwards, never rivalled the position held by that in German. Works of French origin were mainly of poetical, fictional or popular scientific character. In terms of total numbers, only a few French authors seem to have achieved a more significant distribution of their works in learned book collections, notably Voltaire, Montesquieu, Descartes, Molière, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Jean de La Fontaine, Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, Jacques Bénigne Bousset (d. 1704), Jean-François Marmontel (d. 1799) and Nicolas Boileau Despréaux (d. 1711).³¹ The growing interest in works of French origin is also reflected in various late eighteenth-century auction catalogues: French works appeared in half of the auction catalogues preserved from the period 1750–1815.³² The growing Swedish impact on upper-middle-class book collections in the late eighteenth century should also be noted; these books mainly addressed historical, economic or natural scientific topics, and often included works by the naturalist Carl Linnaeus (d. 1778).³³

There are also important changes to be noted with regard to the language in which the books that appear in late eighteenth-century collections were written. First, the number of books in Latin drops during the course of the eighteenth century, a phenomenon also noted in other parts of Europe. Second, the number of German language books remains high. Third, and as expected, the number of books written in the Danish language rises significantly in the later eighteenth century, whereas the number of works in English or Dutch remains insignificant. German and Danish, therefore, were the most common languages for books in Enlightenment Norway. Such tendencies, however, should not be taken as absolute, for personal preferences and networks

³⁰ Findings based on the survey of late eighteenth-century upper-middle-class book collections, see appendix 1.

³¹ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 234–235.

³² Byberg, “Brukte bøker,” 230.

³³ Observations based on the examination of late eighteenth-century learned book collections, see appendix 1.

of trade could also shape book collections. The library of the Trondheim merchant Otto Friderich Owesen, listed in 1812, shows a predominance of books in English, the majority of which were printed in Dublin.³⁴ Even a few books from North America were included in Owesen's collection, books that were printed in cities such as Philadelphia and Boston. The pre-eminence of English-language works in Owesen's collection is brought home by several works by German or French authors that appear here in English translation, a direct contrast with the general trend whereby English, Dutch and French authors arrived on Norwegian shores mostly in German translation. Owesen's book selection was the result of his close trade connections with Ireland, whence he also brought home his wife. Many Trondheim merchants participated in Irish-Norwegian trade.

Changes to book format also occurred during the eighteenth century. Throughout the early modern period, the *octavo* was the principal book size. At the start of this period, however, larger formats such as the *folio* and *quarto* would also frequently appear in learned book collections, whereas towards the end of the eighteenth century, the number of books in *octavo* would increase radically at the expense of these large-sized formats.³⁵ The bulk of the books in the late-eighteenth century collections seem to have been of a more recent date than was typical of earlier centuries. In the first part of the early modern period, books would tend to be printed at least fifty to hundred years before their owners' death; the occurrence of such older authors and works was noted in the previous chapters on book distribution among theologians, physicians and legal officials (cf. Chapters 4, 6 and 7). By the end of the early modern period, however, a greater volume of more recently printed material is evident across the learned book collections. In the collection belonging to the merchant Owesen, only one book had been printed before 1700, namely, Johann Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum*. Similarly, only about ten books had been printed in the period 1700–1750, whereas about 210 books dated from the period 1751–1800; of these, many were from the period 1780–1790. About fifty books were listed as having been printed after 1800.

As a general conclusion, several structural changes in the eighteenth-century book market may be witnessed. The percentage of

³⁴ *Fortegnelse over afdøde Grosserer O. F. Owesens efterladte Bøger, Landkarter og Musikalier, Trondhiem 1812, trykt hos W. Stephanson*; The National Library, Oslo.

³⁵ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 30.

religious works included in eighteenth-century learned book collections drops, as does the number of works written in Latin, while the number of books in the vernacular is on the rise, as are works by French authors. One should not, however, exaggerate these diffusionist changes. Throughout the whole of the early modern period, at least from the point of view of book distribution, learned agents in Norway remained within a German tradition, although such a notion should not be thought of in too exclusive terms. Also, religious books continued to be disseminated at a relatively high rate among both elite and popular sections of society (cf. Chapter 3). Both novelty and resilience are thus characteristic of late eighteenth-century book distribution among the upper middle classes residing in Norway.

8.3 *Literary genres and 'other worlds'*

What were the literary tastes of the Enlightenment reader as seen from a diffusionist point of view? Striking is the high absorption of ephemeral material such as newspapers, magazines and journals, types of literature whose content could overlap considerably prior to the nineteenth century. The majority of these ephemera were printed in the vernacular and addressed to a cross-section of society through their airing of current debates, news and entertainment. So-called 'mixed periodicals', which combined morally educative and enlightening material, were also steadily issued in the vernacular as well as, sometimes, in German and French; their numbers soared from the 1720s in particular. Principal characteristics of these ephemera were their large print run and their short lifespan: from about 1725 to 1800 at least 160 different mixed periodicals were published, not including scientific journals or those issued in German, English or French. The abolition of censorship in 1770 was also followed by an explosion in ephemeral writings. In the years 1771–1772 alone, twenty-six new periodicals were issued. The various periodicals would generally be purchased by private individuals as well as institutions such as clubs, reading societies, libraries, Masonic lodges, and so forth.³⁶

³⁶ See Karen Klitgaard Povelsen, "Skrifter til tiden," in *Mediernes forhistorie 1840–1880*, ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen (Copenhagen: Samleren, 1996), 52–57. For a treatment of the mixed genre of the various periodicals issued in the eighteenth century, see also Aina Nøding, "Hva er et 1700-tallstidsskrift?" in *Opplysningens tidsskrifter. Norske og danske periodiske publikasjoner på 1700-tallet*, ed. Eivind Tjønneland (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2008), 3–14.

Of the various periodicals issued, highly regarded was, for instance, *Minerva* (1785–1805), a monthly covering religion, educational reforms, literature, politics, art and theatre.³⁷ This periodical addressed mainly the upper or upper middle classes, as did other journals such as *Jesus og Fornuftten* (Jesus and Reason, 1797–1801), edited by the theologian Otto Horrebow (d. 1823), which was critical of official religion.³⁸ Periodicals do occasionally occur in book auction catalogues and also sometimes in inventories, although their ephemeral nature must have caused a certain under-representation of this particular type of source material. Among the periodicals that do appear in late eighteenth-century auction catalogues one should note the presence of *Minerva*, *The Spectator*, *Biekubben* and *Die Caffé und Thee Welt*.³⁹ Some newspapers were in manuscript; in Bergen handwritten newspapers were in circulation as late as the nineteenth century. Handwritten periodicals would often include news that was thought too daring to put into print.⁴⁰

One of the most significant changes in book distribution is the high number of more practical manuals evident in late eighteenth-century book collections. This shift has also been noted for popular self-help books (cf. 3.4). Various types of practical manual were also included in learned libraries, although these were not necessarily the same as those distributed among the general population. Some of the more frequently occurring practical books included in educated libraries were works on the breeding of the domestic canary, as well as on washing machines and child rearing (cf. 6.3).⁴¹

Another type of practical literature increasingly to be found in learned libraries were works relating to agricultural development and the mapping of natural resources.⁴² The high number of such books was the result of the reform politics of the eighteenth century, whose focus on economic progress led to special investment in manufacturing and farming. Povel Juel's *Gode Bonde* (Good Peasant), on the

³⁷ Povelsen, "Skrifter til tiden," 57–58.

³⁸ Amundsen and Laugerud, *Norsk fritenkerhistorie*, 256.

³⁹ Based on observations of book occurrences in late eighteenth-century learned libraries, see appendix 1.

⁴⁰ Fiskaa, *Skrevne og trykte nyhetsblad* (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn's Boktrykkeri, 1934), 18–19.

⁴¹ Based on observations of book occurrences in late eighteenth-century learned libraries, see appendix 1.

⁴² Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 41.

reform of the rural economy, appears to have been particularly widely received. Also present in several upper-middle-class book collections were works written by political economists such as Otto Diderik Lütken, Georg Christian Oeder and Tyge Rothe.⁴³ Various organisations also supported the publishing of utilitarian works, including the patriotic society The Royal Danish Society for the Improvement of Agriculture (Det Kongelige Danske Landhusholdningsselskab) established in 1769. Interest in agricultural and economic issues also led to the publication of a wide range of journals and magazines devoted to agrarian reform; for example, *Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* (Economic Magazine of Denmark and Norway), edited by Erik Pontoppidan the Younger in the period 1757–1764, occurs regularly in learned libraries of the late eighteenth century. At the very end of the eighteenth century, works on commerce and book-keeping also appeared more frequently in specialist book collections, as did periodicals of this type, an example of which was *Magazin for næringsstanden*.⁴⁴

The nature of philosophical works in book collections of the educated elite also changed. Before 1750, it was the classical exponents of peripatetic philosophy and their followers, Georg Gutke and Christoph Scheibler, for example, who dominated their collections, or at least those belonging to clerics. Another philosopher-historian of note was Georg Horn (d. 1670), who served as professor of science, politics and geography at Harderwijk.⁴⁵ By the late eighteenth century, however, the number of writings on traditional metaphysics (often Aristotelian) had fallen and in their place were found instead more ‘modern’ authors such as Leibniz, Descartes and Pierre Bayle. Additionally, authors popularising the newer continental philosophy also gained in importance, authors such as the Danes Friedrich Christian Eilschov (d. 1759) and Jens Schiønderup Sneedorff (d. 1764).⁴⁶

A number of works on moral philosophy were also included in learned book collections in the late eighteenth century, alongside books responding to other changes in the philosophical landscape.

⁴³ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 39–40.

⁴⁴ Observations based on the recordings of books in late eighteenth-century auction catalogues, see appendix 1.

⁴⁵ See statistics in Dahl, “Questioning Religious Influence.”

⁴⁶ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 33–39.

One of the books to appear most frequently was *Forsøg til en fuldstændig Lærebygning om Dyrenes Natur og Bestemmelse og Menneskets Pligter mod Dyrene*, a consideration of the nature of animals and man's duties towards them, by the clergyman Laurids Smith (d. 1794). In this book, Smith claimed that humans are obliged to treat animals well, for animals, like human beings, consist of both a body and an immortal soul; for this reason their torture should not be allowed.⁴⁷ Also widely distributed among the educated section of the population was Frederick II of Prussia's *Works of the Philosopher of Sans-Souci*, often found in a French-language edition. Works concerning natural science and politics are attested more frequently in late eighteenth-century upper-middle-class book collections;⁴⁸ in the former category a work on the northern lights, *Mathematiske og physiske betænkninger over nordlyset* by Diderich Fester (d. 1811), a teacher of geometry and mathematics at the Trondheim Latin School, seems to have been a bestseller. In line with this trend, learned book collections of the late eighteenth century also tended to include a range of magazines covering the natural sciences, several of them issued by the various Scandinavian scientific societies. A number of mathematical works would also often be included in these collections.⁴⁹

Novels are also very evident (cf. 9.2), but even more so are books dealing with what I have chosen to call 'other worlds,' works often of historical-geographical character.⁵⁰ This interest in other worlds can also on occasion be discerned even in early eighteenth-century book collections, such as that of the Jarlsberg cleric Jens Kraft (see table 25).⁵¹

It would seem, however, as if works on other worlds first came to be more widely disseminated among the Norwegian upper middle classes during the late eighteenth century. The enormous interest in other worlds witnessed in the period has been aptly described by Mary Baine

⁴⁷ Laurids Smith, *Forsøg til en fuldstændig Lærebygning om Dyrenes Natur og Bestemmelse og Menneskets Pligter mod Dyrene* (Copenhagen: Kongelig og Universitets Bogtrykker, 1800).

⁴⁸ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 29–30.

⁴⁹ These statistics are based on the recording of books in late eighteenth-century book collections, see appendix 1.

⁵⁰ See Dahl, "Opplysningens arkeologi," 97–112.

⁵¹ Jarlsberg clerical probate records, microfilm number NOR10 38 (1704–1738); the inventory starts on folio 208.

Table 25: Books of historical-geographical character in the collection of Jens Kraft

Jens Kraft's collection, registered in Jarlsberg clerical probate records in 1722, comprised approximately 500 works. Several works were of historical-geographical character, some of which were written by Danish-Norwegian authors such as Olaus Magnus, Jonas Ramus, Ole Worm and Ludvig Holberg. Of the non-Scandinavian authors, *Geographischen Fragen*, *Kurtze Fragen aus der Geographia Sacra* and *Staats Zeitungs und Conversations Lexicon* were works by the famous historian and geographer Johann Hübner. Other similar works were also included, such as *Historia orbis terrarium, geographica et civilis* by Johann Christoph Becmann (b. 1641) and *Historia naturalis & civilis* by Georg Horn (d. 1670). Titles such as *Atlas amstelodami*, *Compendium geographicum* and *Museum histor. et physicum* also indicate historical or geographical subjects. Also indicative of Kraft's interest in geography was the listing of "14 maps and two old globes." A large number of books of evident English origin covered history and geography, such as Thomas May's *The historie of the Parliament of Engelant* and Robert Molesworth's *An Account of Denmark, as it was in the Year 1692*. Listed in the inventory were titles such as *A view of the English acquisitions in Guinea*, *The history of the house of Orange*, *The history of Oliver Cromwell*, *Sir Francis Drake revind*, *The English empire in America*, *An account of Dennemarch*, *The royal charter of the confirmation of the city of London*, *A new survey of the Turchisk empire*, *Memory of Dennemarch* and *Defensio regia Carolo I*. Several titles suggest historical or geographical works of French origin: *L'histoire du temps*, *L'estat de l'empire et des princes Souverains d'Alemagne* and *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres par Jaqves Bernhard*. The Duke of Rohan (d. 1638) was included in Kraft's collection with the work *Trutina statuum Europae*. A French book on the histories of Julius Caesar and Henry IV, printed in Paris in 1625, was also listed, as were works entitled *Discourses sur l'histoire universelle* (three volumes), *La vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand*, *Ismael prince de Maroc*, *Histoire d'Emeric comte de Tekely* and *La geographie universelle* (five volumes). Philip Comineus was represented by his biography of King Louis XI of France, a work evidently printed in Latin. All titles are listed here according to their spelling in the inventory.

Campbell in her book *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*:⁵²

Both fictional and nonfictional vernacular writing, whether dramatic or page-bound, concerns itself with what is other, what is elsewhere, the “passed world” and “subterranean world” of Browne’s *Urn burial*, the “new world” of the voyage literature, the foreign world displayed (as fashion shows) in ballet and masque, the world in the Moon of the lunar fantasies that we will look at later, the better worlds of *Utopia*, the *New Atlantis*, the *Civitas solis*, the worse worlds of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *La Picara Justina*, the infinitesimal worlds of Hook and Leeuwenhoek, the transformed world of the alchemists, the world of the many fervent Reformation cults. The proliferation of other worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is so great that perhaps one can be forgiven for looking at ‘the’ world projected by Bacon’s research program as just one more.

From the point of view of library organisation, descriptions of other worlds were categorised as history, reflecting the multifaceted ways in which ‘history’ was conceived. History as a library category included literary forms such as travel literature that we do not necessarily see today as congruent with history proper (cf. 9.2). In the early modern period, however, these two literary categories had many similarities. Historical works and travel literature, for instance, overlapped in that both genres could include geographical material, and they probably also served as sources of stylistic inspiration for each other. Both genres could also be read as fiction, which means that they could have been used as a source of entertainment. The separation of history from prose fiction was still an ongoing issue, as was the struggle to separate truth from lies.⁵³

Examples of the breadth of the historical category may be found by looking at the books belonging to Caspar Herman von Storm (b. 1718), a statesman and the head of the company of Norwegian glassworks (Det Norske Kompanie) in the period 1753–1766. Storm’s collection, which included several thousand books, was auctioned off in Christiania in 1772,⁵⁴ and the largest category of books was that

⁵² Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 78.

⁵³ Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); 29–30.

⁵⁴ *Catalogus over Hands Excellence H. Geheimraad og Stiftbefalingsmand Caspar Herman von Storms Bibliotheqve samt mathematiske instrumenter, naturalier,*

described as history (referred to as ‘Liber Historici & quidem’); the list of these works covered forty-two pages (folio 63 to folio 105). These historical works were divided into eight subcategories and under each of these headings, books of quite heterogeneous content appeared (see table 26). The division into subcategories attests to the attempts made in the period itself to create boundaries, such as that mentioned above between “history as category of literature on the one hand, and fable, fiction, or the irrational on the other.”⁵⁵ The attempt to define fiction, for instance, is evident in Storm’s catalogue in subcategory eight, *Fabulae, Historiae fictae*. The not-yet-fully-implemented (from our point of view) categorisation of works may also be noted in other respects. Philosophical works written by Voltaire and Fontenelle, for instance, were included in Storm’s collection in the category of philological works, whereas Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopedie* in twenty-one volumes, was listed under *Miscellanea*. The majority of the

Table 26: ‘Historical books’ belonging to Storm

1. Tabulae Geographicae. Nauticae, Geographici generales & particulares

In this category, maps, atlases and other geographical works are listed, such as Johann Hübner’s *Geographie*.

2. Itineraria varia

In this category, as *itineraria* presupposes, travel literature is listed; these works covered voyages to the East and West Indies, Russia, Japan and China and other parts of the Orient, as well as various European countries. Listed are also the account of Admiral George Anson’s (d. 1762) circumnavigation of the globe, *Voyage autour du Monde par George Anson, avec des Chartes* (Amsterdam and Leipzig 1751) and the travel account by William Dampier (d. 1715), *Nouveau Voyage autour du Monde par Gvillaume Dampier, des Chartes & Figures* (Rouen 1723).

(Continued)

mineralier og cochiller, &c; Som Mandagen den 23de November Anno 1772 og følgende Dage ved offentlig Auction bortsælges udi Hands Gaard i Christiania, Trykt hos Samuel Conrad Schwach; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

⁵⁵ Suzanne Gearhart, *The Open Boundary of History and Fiction: A Critical Approach to the French Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 10.

Table 26: (Cont.)

3. **Historici universales, omnium gentium, tempumque**

Included under this rubric are various historical lexicons and works covering world history.

4. **Historia trium Monarchiarum**

Included in this section are works dealing mainly with Greek and Jewish history.

5. **Historici Patriæ**

The section includes mainly Danish-Norwegian, but also broader Scandinavian, history.

6. **Historici partiuclares**

Under this rubric, a wide range of biographies and autobiographies whose titles often commence with the words 'memoirs of', 'history of' or 'Lebens Beschreibung' are listed. Not all works, however, fall into this pattern; exceptions include *Testament politique du Cardinal, Duc de Richelieu* (Amsterdam 1709) and *Histoire & Commerce des Colonies Angloises dans l'Amerique Septentrionale* (The Hague 1755). Various works of more general character also appear here, such as *Histoire de l'Afrique & de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes* (Paris 1765).

7. **Scriptores Historiæ litteraria universalis, Ephemeridum, item Catalogi Librorum & Bibliothecarum**

This vast category comprises, amongst other things, descriptions of collections of coins and medals as well as bibliographies.

8. **Fabulæ, Historiæ fictæ**

This category contains works considered purely fictional, such as specific novels and various historical and travel accounts. Included, for instance, are several copies of Ludvig Holberg's *Niels Klim's Journey into the Subterranean World* and François Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque*, the latter a satire on the reign of Louis XIV. Several of the various Robinson Crusoe imitations are also listed under this rubric, as are *Clarissa* and *Pamela* by Samuel Richardson and *Anti-Pamela* by Eliza Haywood. Also itemised are Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* and Jonathan Swift's *Le conte du Tonneau*. Some of the titles in this category deal with various aspects of love, such as *Liebes Geschichte der Europäischen Hölle* and *Les Amours des Rois de France*. Included here are also Roger du Rabutin's *Amours des Dames illustres de France*, Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Henri Joseph Du Laurens's *Imrice, ou la Fille de la Nature*, a work with erotic overtones.

All titles are listed according to their spelling in the catalogue.

'historical' works included in Storm's collection were listed as printed in various Dutch towns, closely followed by Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig; several appear to have been printed in Hamburg or Stockholm. The historical genre itself—books that we today perceive as history proper—also changed in character during the course of the early modern period. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a period in which history was awarded a number of professorial chairs across European universities and in Protestant countries in particular, marked emphasis was put on the study of chronology or universal history. During the eighteenth century, universal history ceased to be identified with chronology, and traditional works felt out of favour.⁵⁶ Instead, history as such became part of the Enlightenment programme because of its reconnection with philosophy in the pursuit of "reasoned history."⁵⁷ This change was anchored in the way in which exponents of the Enlightenment used the study of history to promote insight and progress rather than spiritual advancement. Ernst Cassirer refers to a process whereby natural science, jurisprudence and historical studies detached themselves from religion as the "conquest of the historical world."⁵⁸ Reinhart Koselleck shares this idea that the new philosophical history could be used as a basis for criticising established society, claiming that:⁵⁹

In the eighteenth century, history as a whole was unwittingly transformed into a sort of legal process. This occurrence, which inaugurates the Modern age, is identical with the genesis of the philosophy of history. [...] Theology, art, history, the law, the state and politics, eventually reason itself—sooner or later all were called upon to answer for themselves. In these proceedings the bourgeois spirit functioned simultaneously as a prosecutor, as the court of last resort, and—due to be of crucial importance to the philosophy of history—as a party.

In Germany in particular, this new way of writing history led to a large increase in book production as both theological inclinations and the polyhistoric trend so important in the seventeenth century—signified by universal histories and compilations of fact devoid of analysis—came to be replaced by a new historical programme, especially in the years 1740–1760. This programme, primarily supported by the

⁵⁶ Brockliss, "Curricula," 575–577.

⁵⁷ Donald R. Kelley, *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 439.

⁵⁸ Cassirer, *La philosophie des lumières*, 207–208.

⁵⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Oxford, New York and Hamburg: Berg, 1988), 9–10.

universities of Göttingen, Frankfurt an der Oder and Wittenberg, led to an upsurge in the production of historical books. In Germany in the period 1769–1771, 654 books were published on history, including geographical-political works; only 184 works of this kind were printed in France in the same period.⁶⁰ This new perception of historical happenings as a means of understanding the unfolding of current events and their repercussions on society also opened up the possibility of the establishment of other historical genres such as military history and the history of institutions.

A marked increase in the distribution of works on history can be noted among the educated part of the late eighteenth century Norwegian population, although this growth should not conceal the fact that such works were also much in evidence in earlier centuries. The vivid interest in Old Norse history, for instance, had created antiquarians who were major collectors of various types of historical material even before the eighteenth century. The interest in Old Norse and broader Scandinavian history also seems to have been long lasting, for in terms of overall numbers, such works were apparently more widely distributed among Enlightenment book collectors than were works on European history.⁶¹ One should also note that the distribution of historical works in the course of the eighteenth century continued to represent a mixture of old and new: among the most esteemed authors of Danish-Norwegian history were Jonas Ramus, Peter Suhm, Ole Worm and Thomas Bartholin, authors of both the pre-Enlightenment and the Enlightenment.⁶²

Many of the non-Scandinavian authors of historical works frequently included in late eighteenth-century learned book collections were also of the pre-Enlightenment type. An example is provided by the German teacher of history Johann Hübner (d. 1731). Several of Hübner's historical-geographical works became major sales successes on the northern European book market, and many were translated into various European languages, including Danish. In the Norwegian context, Johann Hübner seems to have been admired for a very long time: his *Vollstendige Geographie*, for instance, was a classic in

⁶⁰ Gerard Laudin, "Historiens et universités dans l'Allemagne des Lumières," in *The Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Werner Schneiders (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003), 195–218.

⁶¹ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 29.

⁶² Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 40–41, 234–235.

Enlightenment book collections, and only at the beginning of the nineteenth century did the audience for this book decline significantly.⁶³ Another history book, *Quattor monarchis* (On the Four World Empires) by Johannes Sleidanus, also occurs across various upper-middle-class book collections (cf. 4.4). This chronicle based on Daniel's vision of the four empires reached about sixty-five editions and also became a classic among several generations of German students.⁶⁴ Georg Horn, mentioned above, was also the author of a universal history, *Arca Noae*, which reached a certain level of dissemination, at least among the Norwegian clergy.

Another author who similarly seems to have been a consistent presence in Norwegian book collections throughout the whole of the eighteenth century was John Barclay (d. 1621), the author of *Argensis* and *Satyricon*. His poetical-allegorical work *Argensis* was a bestseller across seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, achieving such fame that it was eventually translated into Danish by Hans Paus, a Norwegian jurist. Both *Argensis* and *Satyricon* recur in book collections prior to 1750, but *Argensis* seems to have taken the leading role after 1750.⁶⁵ Although Barclay supported absolutism, his satirical work *Satyricon* challenged the religious institutions of the time, and through his works, he also influenced other political thinkers. The continuing distribution of older works is also evident when one considers the books owned by the Bergen Students' Society in Bergen (Studenters-Societetet) in 1758 (see table 27).⁶⁶ In addition to a high number of religious texts, the society owned various older historical-geographical works, many of which had been printed in the Netherlands. This literature was also printed in smaller formats, namely, *duodecimo* and *sedecimo*, enumerated as 40 to 77 in the book catalogue. Some of these historical-geographical works were by Marcus Boxhorn (d. 1653), a professor at the University of Leiden.

Sometimes more recent historical-geographical works of enlightened character would also be included in late eighteenth-century book collections belonging to the educated elements of the Norwegian

⁶³ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 29.

⁶⁴ Breisach, *Historiography*, 163.

⁶⁵ Dahl, "Opplysningens arkeologi," 108.

⁶⁶ *Studenters-Societetet, Bergen, Catalogus over de Bøger, som for nærværende Tiid befindes paa det Hæderlige Bergenske Studenters-Societetets Bibliothecque, Bergen 1758*; Bergen University Library. Titles are listed according to their spelling in the catalogue.

Table 27: Historical-geographical works owned by the Bergen Students' Society

40:	<i>Respublicæ hanseaticæ</i> . Lugd. Bat. (Leiden) 1631. Tom. 4
41:	Petr. Cunæus <i>de Republ. Hebræorum</i> . ibid. 1632
42:	Bonav. Corn. Bertramus <i>de Republ. Hebræorum</i> . ibid. 1651
43:	<i>Variorum Respubl. Romana</i> . ibid. 1629
44:	<i>Status Imperii Romano-Germanici</i> . ibid. 1643
45:	<i>Status Imperii Tyrcici</i> . ibid. 1630
46:	Gyllii <i>Topographia Constantinopoleos</i> . ibid. 1632
47:	<i>Bosporus Tracicus</i> . ibid. 1632
48:	<i>Russia & Tartaria</i> . ibid. 1642
49:	<i>Respubl. Polonuiæ. Lithuan. Pruss. Livon. &c.</i> ibid. 1642
50:	<i>Status Regni Persici</i> . ibid. 1647
51:	<i>Arabia</i> . Amst. 1635
52:	<i>India</i> . Lugd. Bat. 1631
53:	<i>China</i> . ibid. 1639
54:	Joh. Leonis <i>Africani Africa</i> . Tom. 2. ibid. 1632
55:	Jac. Lampadius <i>de Republ. Romano-Germanica</i> . ibid. 1634
56:	<i>Principatus Italiae</i> . ibid. 1641
57:	Casp. Contareni. <i>Respublica Venetorum</i> . ibid. 1628
58:	<i>Respubl. Sabaudiae</i> . ibid. 1634
59:	Boxhorni <i>Moscovia</i> . Lugd. Bat. 1630
60:	<i>Respubl. Leodicensis</i> . Amsterd. 1633
61:	<i>Respubl. Hungariae</i> . Lugd. Bat. 1634
62:	Donatus Jannotius <i>de Republica Venetorum</i> . ibid. 1631
63:	Simleri <i>Valesia & Alpes</i> . ibid. 1633
64:	<i>Portugalliae Descriptio</i> . ibidem 1641
65:	Thomæ Smithi. <i>Respublica Anglorum</i> . ibid. 1630
66:	<i>Resp. Scotiae & Hiberniae</i> . ibid. 1627
67:	Schockii <i>Resp. Achæorum & Vejentium</i> . Traj. ad R. 1664 (Utrecht)
68:	Grotii <i>Resp. Hollandiae</i> . Lugd. Bat.
69:	<i>Belgii Confæderati. Respublica</i> . ibid. 1630
70:	Boxhornius <i>de Statu Provinciarum. Belg. Conf.</i> Hagæ Com. 1649 (The Hague)
71:	<i>Resp. Namur. Hannon. & Lusenburgensis</i> . Amst. 1634
72:	<i>Resp. Helvetiorum</i> . Lugd. Bat. 1627
73:	Stephani <i>Dania</i> . ibid. 1629
74:	Soteri <i>Svecia</i> . ibid. 1633
75:	<i>Hispania</i> . ibid. 1629
76:	Paul. Stranschy. <i>Respublica Bohema</i> . ibid. 1643
77:	Sprecheri. <i>Rhetia</i> . ibid. 1633 (Sprecher, <i>Pallas Rhaetica</i>)

population. Ludvig Holberg's *Introduction til de Europæiske Rigers Historier* (On the History of European States), for instance, was well distributed among the upper middle classes.⁶⁷ Works of this kind were also purchased by various reading societies: in the period 1796–1800 the literary society of foreign literature in Bergen (Læseselskabet for Udenlandsk Literatur) acquired books such as *Bemerkungen über die französische Revolution*, a German translation of the reflections on the French Revolution by Edmund Burke (d. 1797), David Hume's *Geschichte von England*, and a whole range of writings by Edward Gibbon (d. 1794).⁶⁸

What, then, was the Enlightenment as manifested among the Norwegian upper middle classes and seen from a diffusionist point of view? In terms of structural changes, it seems that religious works no longer made up the largest proportion of books owned by the learned classes, unless the owner himself was a clergyman. Works written in Latin decreased in number, whereas books written in the vernacular and in French increased. The number of German-language books remained relatively constant throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, suggesting that such works constituted a significant element of Enlightenment book mass. In terms of genres, the number of practical books, on agriculture, for instance, rose significantly. Newer works on the natural sciences and philosophical works of the non-Aristotelian type were also more widely distributed.

When eighteenth-century Norwegian book listings are viewed as a whole, one cannot overlook the surge in the number of books on 'other worlds', a category that included works on history and geography. While some of these books were of a newer and Enlightenment-inspired character, other texts were of earlier date. Novelty did not simply supplant tradition. The late eighteenth-century book market was not indicative of change alone, but rather consisted of a peculiar merging of innovative works and books with their own history. The specific developments considered within this chapter should be seen as expanding various otherwise stable patterns of book distribution that endured throughout the early modern period.

⁶⁷ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 29.

⁶⁸ *Fortegnelse over de Böger, som Læseselskabet for Udenlandsk Literatur har anskaffet i Aarene 1796–1800, Bergen 1800. Trykt i Hans Kongel. Majestæts Privilegerede Bogtrykkerie, hos R. Dahls Efterleverske*; Bergen Public Library.

CHAPTER NINE

BOOKS FOR ENTERTAINMENT

9.1 *Tales, stories and novels*

With the expansion of the eighteenth-century book market, more people were able to acquire a more varied range of books. This participation in the market was the result of a general rise in both financial capability and reading ability within a broad section of the population. Many of the books collected were of entertaining character, that is, types of print that were not seen as obligatory in religious education or professional life. As such, the designation 'entertaining' is applied to a type of printed material that had no function other than to serve as a *passe-temps*, to amuse its readers. The category of entertaining literature included romances, novels, poems, plays, newspapers, almanacs and ballads, writings that became more easily accessible with the expansion of the early modern market for print. During the eighteenth century in particular, more publications of this nature appeared, typified by the rise of the novel. However, traditional small books containing fables, romances and various types of adventure tales also continued to be printed in great numbers.¹

Among the range of different types of entertaining literature, very often ephemeral in character, that circulated in early modern Norway was the almanac. Almanacs sold in high numbers throughout the early modern period, and although primarily used as a calendar, they could also often nurture an interest in prognostics. Norwegian fascination with the almanac reflects the situation elsewhere in Europe: in England, for instance, around 400,000 almanacs were issued onto the market annually during the 1660s.²

¹ One should note, however, that the term 'entertainment' is difficult to define precisely. Publications not generally considered as amusement could very well fall into this category: Bible stories and funeral orations, for instance, probably served as entertainment among early modern readers; see for instance Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*, 765.

² Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 2.

Shorter ballads or secular songs covering a wide range of topics also sold well across Norway. In Bergen, for instance, such printed songs provided a valuable source of income for both printer and vender, the latter not infrequently women or adolescents. So popular and chaotic was this trade that a prohibition was issued in 1738 on the casual sale of ballads and songs openly in the streets. This prohibition, however, did not lead to any drastic curbing of the trade. In 1768 some thirty to forty women were still selling such material on the streets of Bergen.³ Another ephemeral type of print circulating in high numbers was the heavenly letter (*himmelbrev*), often printed on broadsheets. These letters were deemed celestial revelations and generally served a moral purpose.⁴ Nevertheless, not all were of religious character: a heavenly letter sent from the moon appeared in print in 1775; entitled *Et brev fra Maanen, sendt til Jorden og Fundet i Bergen* (A Letter From the Moon, Sent to the Earth and Found in Bergen), it criticised the literary tastes of Bergen's citizens.⁵

Collections of stories formed another type of literature for entertainment. These chapbooks circulated in high numbers across early modern Europe. Such books were of highly varied and often medieval content. Many contained reworkings of French and Italian chivalric tales that included battles and adventures; some provided more clear-cut love stories. Other books were more fable-like in form, and some built on biblical Apocrypha. Many such works had a moralising or religious objective.⁶ Various officials warned against reading this type of literature, although for diverse reasons the trade in such works was never completely curbed (cf. Chapter 2).

Attempts to map occurrences of chapbooks among the Norwegian population encounter two significant hurdles. The first obstacle is their ephemeral nature. As these small-format books were normally printed on cheap paper and were probably read over and over again, they were easily destroyed.⁷ The second obstacle is the lack of sources attesting to the presence of such books in early modern homes. Few storybooks were registered in inventories, while books of religious and edifying character seem to proliferate. Perhaps books of this kind were in poor

³ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 89.

⁴ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 245–247.

⁵ Haakon Fiskaa, "Et brev fra månen, sendt til jorden og funnet i Bergen: Himmelbrev fra Bergen og andre sted," *Bergens tidende*, 1934, 148.

⁶ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 243–244.

⁷ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 243.

shape by the time of the registration of their owners' assets; or, perhaps this particular type of cheap print was deemed unworthy of registration and deliberately left out of the listing by the magistrate (cf. also 3.2).⁸

There are other ways, however, to prove that such books were distributed and read. One indirect indication is provided by the number of these books printed in Copenhagen, the main centre of import of non-specialised books. In his work on popular books, Horstbøll claims that classic short stories such as *Fortunatus*, *Magelone*, *Griseldis*, *The Seven Wise Men*, *Emperor Octavian* and *Ogier the Dane* were printed in relatively high number from the seventeenth century onwards, a period in which the overall volume of popular print offered on the market rose significantly.⁹ Another sign of the popularity of these chapbooks was the continual battle waged against them by various officials throughout the early modern period: if such books had not been sought after and read, they would not have been so strongly criticised by members of the cultural and religious elite. Bishop Erik Pontoppidan, for instance, attacked this chapbook tradition by stating in his explanatory notes to the catechism that "indecent books, tales, songs and ballads" were "obscenity in written form" (cf. 2.2). That various late eighteenth-century clerics also recorded their complaints about the reading tastes of their parishioners similarly attests to the wide dissemination of such works. In his preface to *Almuens Sanger* (1790), a religious songbook, Claus Frimann, dean of Nordfjord, stated that peasants across Norway were in possession of books of non-edifying and non-benevolent character, as classic tales such as *Griseldis*, *Till Eulenspiel* and *Ogier the Dane* and several bawdy songs circulated.¹⁰

Who, then, read these popular books, so often of medieval origin? It has been suggested that this type of literature originally belonged to the upper, and literate, classes, but that with time it was taken up by a popular audience that was developing more sophisticated reading abilities,¹¹ and that because of their cheap format, these books were attractive to a wide range of buyers. There is a sense that such books passed from the elite to the popular segments of society. Several signs indicate, however, that all cross-sections of society continued to purchase

⁸ Apelsest, "Den låge danninga," 232–239.

⁹ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*.

¹⁰ Apelsest, "Den låge danninga," 240.

¹¹ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 244.

and read such books over a long period of time. Such storybooks are listed, for example, in the sales catalogue of books available from Friderich Joachim Schuster, a bookbinder and bookseller, in 1767 (see table 28).¹² Most of the books listed in Schuster's catalogue were in the vernacular, which expanded their potential readership. However, as the catalogue also contained books on topics such as medicine, agriculture, jurisprudence and popular science, Schuster probably targeted his book stock at the middling sections of the population. Even a glance at the collections of various learned libraries also attests to the ongoing popularity of storybooks among the educated sections of society: about 50 per cent of Enlightenment book collections, for instance, included the medieval tale of *Reineke Fuchs* (but not in the version by Goethe).¹³

Although traditional genres persisted, the eighteenth-century explosion of print accompanied a fundamental transformation of reading tastes,¹⁴ and within this booming market, traditional storybooks came to occupy only a limited space. One of the main innovations to pour onto the eighteenth-century market, and after 1750 in particular, was the novel. The novel as a genre included a wide range of literature ranging from love stories to travel accounts. Also flourishing in novel form were the biography and the autobiography, a first-person narrative portraying real or fictive lives. Reading tastes changed during the course of the eighteenth century: whereas criminals, rogues, and their adventures were the most popular biographical subjects in the earlier part of the period, biographies of travellers, merchants, physicians, actors and even booksellers, would appear more frequently in print later in the century.¹⁵ Many of these works had an intent other than pure pleasure: the many private diaries in the form of memoirs and travel journals, for instance, nurtured the enlightened notion of a public whose capacity for self-reflection was crucial to sustaining

¹² *Catalogus paa de bøger og andre Piecer, Som ere indbundne at bekomme For den billigste Priis hos Friderich Joachim Schuster, Bogbinder og Boghandler, Boende paa Friderichshald. Trykt hos Samuel Conrad Schwach, Christianya 1767*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

¹³ Observations based on the recording of books in upper-middle-class libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

¹⁴ Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 88.

¹⁵ Adam Potkay, "Biography," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 1, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 153.

Table 28: Storybooks listed in a sales catalogue of books, 1767

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- *Ugelspeils Historie* (Till Eulenspiel)
 - *Fortunati Pung* (Fortunatus)
 - *Holger Danskes Krønike* (The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane)
 - *Historie om Kejser Octavianus* (The History of Emperor Octavian)
 - *Historie om den skønne Magdelone* (The History of the Beautiful Magelone)
 - *Historie om Kong Appolonius* (The History of King Appolonius)
 - *Historie om Hr. Wigoleis med Guld-Hiulet* (The History of Mr. Wigloeis With the Gold Wheel)
 - *Historie om den dyrekiøbte Isabelle* (The History of the Costly Isabelle)
 - *Historie om de 7 vise Mestere* (The Seven Wise Men)
 - *Historie om det igiennem Luften og paa Vandet og under Jorden saa kaldede forunderlige Menneske* (The History of Strange Human Beings in Air and Water and Under the Surface of the Earth)
 - *Historier om tvende Kiøbmænd* (Histories of Two Merchants)
 - *Historie om Blantz-Flor og Flores* (The History of Blantz-Flor and Flores)
 - *Historie om Skiötten Bryde* (The History of the Scotsman Bryde)
 - *Historie om den Skønne Melusina* (The History of the Beautiful Melusina)
 - *Tobaks-Discurser* (Tobacco-Discourses)
 - *Tids-Fordriv eller lystig Sælskabs-Bog* (Passe-temps or a Merry Party Book)
 - *Planete-Bog* (Planet Book)
 - *Terning-Bog* (Dice Book)
 - *Kunst-Bog* (Art Book)
 - *Drømme-Bog* (Dream Book)
 - *Bonde-Practik* (Farming Book)
 - *Historie om den skønne Helena* (The History of the Beautiful Helena)
 - *Sybilles Spaadom* (The Prophecy of Sibylle)
 - *Historie om Lykkens tumlede Klode eller Ridder-Rev* (The History of Ridder-Rev)
 - *Historie om en Troid-karl Doctor Faust* (Doctor Faustus)
 - *Don Pedro Liv og Levnets Historie* (The Life and History of Don Pedro)
 - *Historie om Hertug av Luxenborg, hans Pagt og Forbund med Satan* (The History of the Duke of Luxembourg, his Convenant and Alliance with Satan)
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(Continued)

Table 28: (Cont.)

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- *En moralsk Historie om en fattig Bonde-Søn Felix, som ble til en Konge* (A Moral History of the Poor Farmer's Son Felix, who became King)
 - *Samtale imellem 2de Qvinder* (Conversation between Two Women)
 - *Historie om Tyrkernes Kejserdom og Levnet* (History of the Lives and Deeds of Turkish Emperors)
 - *Historie om Højbergs-Gubben, eller Trolld paa Gulland* (The History of Trolls on Gulland)
 - *Kong Laurins Krønike* (The Chronichle of King Laurin)
 - *Historie om en Skoemager-Svend i Rusland* (The History of a Shoemaker Apprentice in Russia)
 - *Historie om Jores Pines* (The History of Jores Pines)
 - *Historie om en Krukke Oliver* (The History of a Jar of Olives)
 - *Historie om 3de Brødre* (A History of Three Brothers)
 - *Historie om Ugelspeils Overmand* (Till Eulenspiels Superior)
 - *Historie om Polycarpus eller Finke-Ridderen* (The History of Polycarpus)
 - *Marcolfus Historie* (The History of Marcolfus)
 - *Hæste-Læge-Bog* (Horse-Medicine-Book)
 - *Helvedes Badstue* (The Sauna of Hell)
 - *Mester Lucidarius* (Lucidarius)
 - *Historie om Fugl Phoenix* (The History of the Phoenix Bird)
 - *Historie om Alexander* (The History of Alexander)
 - *Underlige Spørsmaal* (Strange Questions)
 - *Axel Thoresens Historie* (The History of Axel Thoresen)
 - *Samtale imellem den vandrende Siæl Adam og Noa* (A Conversation Between the Wandering Soul Adam and Noah)
-

civil society.¹⁶ Many of these works that appealed to the reader's emotions were also symptomatic of the contemporary emphasis on both reason and sensibility, capacities deemed highly important in the process of forming personal opinions, for 'sensible' feelings constituting an essential complement to reason.¹⁷

¹⁶ Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, "Diaries and Memoirs," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 1, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 349.

¹⁷ Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Introduction: German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility," in *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century: The Enlightenment and Sensibility*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (New York: Camden House, 2005), 11.

In the Norwegian context, the various types of novel appear only to have supplanted the traditional reading of folktales with time, for the presence of the latter among the lower classes began to recede only in the early nineteenth century. This decline was in part a result of the drop in the availability of such books, for as book consumers in towns became less interested in purchasing traditional storybooks, printers and salesmen adapted the books they made available to this demand. Classic story collections were less frequently on offer, which made them more difficult to obtain. In time, rural inhabitants also developed a stronger interest in purchasing new types of fiction, a premise that can be substantiated by looking at the book advertisements published in the 1840s in a local magazine issued in the rural district of Ekset: here, novels by authors such as Scott, Trollope and Dumas were advertised.¹⁸

Among the upper middle classes, by contrast, the new forms of fictional literature seem to have made a more profound impact already in the late eighteenth century. That the quantity of novels on the market at this date rivalled older entertaining publications can be verified in a number of ways. First, newspaper advertisements promoting novels appeared more and more often. Second, fictional literature was also more readily available in lending libraries and reading societies. Third, book auction catalogues and sales catalogues included an ever-increasing volume of new types of fictional literature as the eighteenth century progressed. Fourth, various types of fictional work also occurred more frequently in private late eighteenth-century upper-middle-class inventories.

The number of advertisements for fictional and entertaining works to appear in newspapers expanded from the 1760s onwards, a period in which the number of periodicals issued by advertising offices also grew (cf. 2.3).¹⁹ Newspapers offered by advertising offices included not only book advertisements, but also a high number of fictional stories themselves, stories by authors such as Christian Furchtegott Gellert.²⁰ Magazines and similar types of periodicals, also printed in significant number in this period, included many fictional stories, or, more often, extracts or abridged versions of bestselling novels. The rise of the novel

¹⁸ Fet, *Lesande bønder*, 245.

¹⁹ Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 122–130.

²⁰ See Aina Nøding, "Vittige kameleoner. Litterære tekster i norske adresseaviser, 1763–1769" (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2007).

can also be determined from the book stock of various lending libraries, the majority of which were established in the later eighteenth century (also cf. 3.4). In Denmark, for instance, urban lending libraries of the late eighteenth century included new types of fiction at the expense of traditional folk tales,²¹ while the list of new books held by the Christiania reading society (Christiania Læse-Selskab) in 1784 also attests to this relationship between new and long-established fictional works.²² Most of these urban reading societies recruited their members from the bourgeoisie.²³

And late eighteenth-century auction catalogues also provide evidence of the rise of the novel. Schuster's catalogue, mentioned above, includes a number of novels (see table 29), although several of these were listed under the heading 'historical works', an indication of the blurred distinctions between history and prose fiction (cf. 8.3). This register also contains a number of works that appear to have sold particularly well, such as Antonio de Solís's account of the conquest of Mexico, translated into Danish by Birgitte Lange, which regularly appeared in Enlightenment upper-middle-class book collections.²⁴ Similarly, we frequently encounter *A Thousand and One Nights* in the learned libraries of the upper middle classes.²⁵

Also included in Schuster's auction catalogue were various biographies and autobiographies, both fictional and non-fictional (see table 30). Accounts of pirates and other villains appear to have been popular purchases, for listed in the catalogue were the stories of Cartouche (d. 1721), the leader of a Paris band of criminals, of John Nicolas Norcross (b. 1688), a Swedish pirate of English origin, and of Louis Mandrin (d. 1755), a member of a band of smugglers operating in France. These works also seem to have been enjoyed by a broad section of the upper middle classes. Both Cartouche and Norcross regularly appeared in learned libraries; the latter was one of the leading sellers in the late eighteenth-century book market.²⁶ Also indicative of the expanding interest in entertaining material is the number of books on games that

²¹ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 474–475.

²² Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 363–364.

²³ Byberg, "Brukte bøker," 90.

²⁴ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 39.

²⁵ Observations based on the registration of books in upper-middle-class libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

²⁶ Statistics based on the registration of books in upper-middle-class libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

Table 29: 'Historical works' in Schuster's sales catalogue of 1767 (numbers 1–27 of 62 items listed)

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1. *Charlotte, Frøken von Weisensøes, forunderlige Tildragelser* (The Curious Happenings of Miss Weisensoe)
 2. *Det Historiske Magazin, eller Samling af historier, Avenruer og Fortællinger* (The Historical Magazine, or Collection of Histories, Adventures and Short Stories)
 3. M. L. Prevos *Historie om en Grækinde i de Nyere tider* (M. L. Prevø's History of a Greek Lady of Today)
 4. *Tusinde og en fierendeel Time, en Tartarisk Historie* (A Thousand and a Quarter of an Hour, a Tartar History)
 5. *Tusinde og en Nat, bestaaende af Arabiske Historier* (A Thousand and One Nights, Arabian Stories)
 6. *Tusinde og en Dag, bestaaende af Persianske Historier* (A Thousand and One Days, Persian Stories)
 7. *Halte-Fanden, eller den hinkende Dievel, forestillende Menneskernes Fejl og Laster* (The Limping Devil, on Human Flaws and Vices)
 8. *Historisk Beskrivelse om den Trojanske Krig* (Historical Description of the Trojan War)
 9. L. L. Aagerups *sælsomme Hændelser of forunderlige Tildragelser* (The Strange Happenings of L. L. Aagerup)
 10. *Wilhelmines, eller den rige Kone i America, historie* (The Story of Wilhelmine, The Rich Lady in America)
 11. *Cicilia, eller den ugudelige Datters, sælsomme Tildragelser og Historier* (The Strange Histories of an Ungodly Daughter, Cicilia)
 12. *Uge-Bladet Thee-Bordet, en moralsk Historie* (The Magazine Tea-Table, A Moral History)
 13. *Matrosen, som bliver Keiser i Maratapo, og derefter igien Matros* (The Sailor who Becomes an Emperor in Maratapo, and thereafter Sailor again)
 14. *Pamela, eller den belønnede dyd*, oversadt af B. J. Lodde (Pamela)
 15. Mad. M. le Prince de Beaumonts *Magazin for Børn* (De Beaumont's Magazine for Children)
 16. L. L. Aagerups *sælsomme Hændelser og forunderlige Tildragelser* (The Strange Happenings of L. L. Aagerup, *ibid.* no. 9)
 17. *Enveloppens eller Saloppens forunderlige Hændelser, en comisk Roman* (The Curious Happenings of Enveloppe or Saloppe, A Comical Novel)
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(Continued)

Table 29: (Cont.)

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18. *Et hundrede nye historier, af madame de Gomez* (A Hundred New Histories by Madam de Gomez)
 19. *Historie om den dydige Klarisse Harlove* (Clarissa Harlowe)
 20. Don Antonio de Solís *Historie om Conqvesten af Mexico* (Don Antonio de Solís's History of the Conquest of Mexico)
 21. J. H. Freihofs *Efterretning om en Fransk Dames Hændelser* (J. H. Freihof's Account of the Happenings of a French Lady)
 22. *Historie om den Jødiske hovedstad Jerusalems Belejring og Ødelæggelse* (A History of the Siege and Destruction of the Jewish Capital Jerusalem)
 23. *Den Spanske Robinson, eller Gilblas af Santillane Liv og Levnets Historie* (The Spanish Robinson, Gil Blas of Santillane)
 24. *Gissur Isleifs Islandske Robinson* (The Icelandic Robinson)
 25. *Den engelske Robinson Crusoes Levnet og Skiebne* (The English Robinson Crusoe)
 26. *Den Svenske Robinson, eller Gustav Landkrons Levnet* (The Swedish Robinson, Gustav Landkron)
 27. *Historien om Græven af P***** (The History of Count of P****)
-

Table 30: Biographies ('Levnets-Beskrivelser') listed in Schuster's sales catalogue

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1. *Mærkværdigheder om Friedrich den Stores Bedrifter, nu regierende Konge av Preussen* (The Curious Acts of Friedrich, King of Prussia)
 2. *Kong Carl den Tolvte af Sverrig, hans Liv og Levnet*, skrevet af Voltaire (King Charles XII of Sweden, written by Voltaire)
 3. *Peter Zahr, den store Keiser i Ruslands, Liv og Levnets Historie*, skreven af Hr. Voltaire (The Life of Peter the Great of Russia, written by Voltaire)
 4. *Corfits Ulfeldts Liv og Levnets Historie* (The Life of Corfitz Ulfeldt)
 5. *Guan-Trouins Søe-Helte Bedrifter* (The Naval Accomplishments of Guan-Trouin)
 6. *Admiral J. Juels Liv og Levnets Beskrivelse* (The Life of Admiral J. Juel)
 7. *Norbergs Anmærkniger over Kong Carl den Tolvtes Historie* (Norberg's Notes to the History of Charles XII of Sweden)
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Table 30: (Cont.)

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8. *Kong Augusti af Pohlens Elskovs Handlinger, eller den galante Saren* (The Galant Tsar, An Account of the Amorous Exploits of King August of Poland)
 9. *Lebens Beschreibung Eleonoræ Christinæ* (The Life of Eleonora Christina)
 10. *Merckwürdiges Leben des Grafen Corfitz von Ulfeld* (The Life of Corfitz Ulfeld)
 11. *Den Svenske Grævindes af B*** Liv og Levnets Beskrivelse* (The Life of the Swedish Countess B***)
 12. *Cartouches Levnet og Bedrifter, tilligemed hans heele Process og Døds-Dom* (The Life of Cartouche, Including his Trial and Death Sentence)
 13. *J. Norcrosses, Caper-Capitain, Levnet og Skiebnes Fortællelse, skreven af ham selv i sit Fængsel* (The Life and Destiny of the Pirate J. Norcross, written by Himself in Jail)
 14. *Hr. Cleveland, Cromvels naturlige Søns Levnets Beskrivelse* (The Life of Mr. Cleveland, The Natural Son of Cromwell)
 15. *C. F. Pauli Leben grosser Helden des gegenwärtigen Krieges*
 16. *E. C. von Kleist, Kongelig Preussiske Major, som i nærværende Krig endede sit Liv og Levnet* (On E. C. von Kleist, the Prussian Major who Lost his Life in the Ongoing War)
 17. *Den Franske Straten-Røveres L. Mandrins Liv og Levnets Historie* (The Life of the French Bandit L. Mandrin)
 18. *Lebens Beschreibung des Herrn Tycho von Brahes*
 19. *Die Geschichte der Marquisin von Pompadur*
 20. *Des grafen von Brühls Leben und Character*
 21. *En Historisk Fortegnelse paa alle Konger udi Frankrige* (A Historical Survey of All French Kings)
 22. *Liv og Levnet af den Spanske Grævinde de los Rios* (The Life of the Spanish Countess de los Rios)
 23. *Luthers (Morten) Levnets-Beskrivelse* (The Life of Martin Luther)
-

we encounter in late eighteenth-century learned book collections; books on chess and ombre occur most frequently.²⁷

²⁷ Observations based on the listing of books in learned libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

Interest in biographies or personal histories is also evident in other auction catalogues, such as that issued by the Christiania bookbinder Niels Haslef in 1753,²⁸ which included a number of works of the 'lives of', 'histories of', and 'Begebenheiten' type—*Begebenheiten des Herrn Pharsamens, oder der Romanische Liebhaber, Begebenheiten (wunderbahre) eines Göttingischen Studenten, Avanturen des Grafen von Gleichen: Der Fräulein de la Rochette, Lebens-Beschreibung des Herrn Marquis von Argens* and *Leben und Thaten Americas Vesoucci* (Amerigo Vespucci). Also present were *Pamela* and *Anti-Pamela* (i.e. *Anti-Pamela, oder die entdeckte falsche Unschuld in den Begebenheiten der Eyrene*, translated from English). The book collection owned by the merchant Owesen in Trondheim (cf. 8.2), recorded in 1812, included a number of novels, such as *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Emma: Or the Unfortunate Attachment*, *Gransville Abbey*, and *Harcourt: A Sentimental Novel* and a number of 'adventures' and 'lives of', such as *The Adventures of Roderic Random*, *Fashionable Life: Or the History of Miss Lovisa Fermer*, *The Adventures of a Rupee* and *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*.

This late eighteenth-century shift in reading tastes is evident, as previously noted, from upper middle class book collections. Bull's examination of these sources has revealed works of entertainment by authors such as Jean de La Fontaine and Molière; from the German camp, authors such as Albrecht von Haller, Johann Christoph Gottsched, Christian Furchtegott Gellert and Salomon Gessner also seem to have been in vogue; Gessner is present through his fables.²⁹ A few English authors also appear relatively frequently in such collections, Joseph Addison (*The Spectator*) and Samuel Richardson (*Pamela* and *Clarissa*) for example.³⁰ The readership found by the various *Pamelas* and anti-*Pamelas* in other parts of northern Europe, appears to have been replicated in Norway. Entertaining works by La Fontaine, Voltaire, Addison and Gellert also appear in various eighteenth-century advertising newspapers.³¹ Fiction writings by Danish-Norwegian authors also seem to have proved popular. One of the stories that reached a wide audience was Charlotte Dorothea Biehl's moral novel *Dend unge*

²⁸ *Catalogvus guter und neuer Bücher welche vor beygesetzten Preis zu haben find bey Niels Haslef, Buchbinder in Christiania, 1753*; The National Library, Oslo.

²⁹ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 35.

³⁰ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 38.

³¹ Nøding, "Vittige kameleoner," 231, 327–328.

Wartwig (The Young Wartwig, 1785), a response to the German novels *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (Goethe) and *Siegvart: Eines Klostersgeschichte* (Johann Martin Miller) and a warning to its reader about identifying too closely with a sensitive heroic character.³² Theatrical plays also appear with increasing frequency in learned book collections.³³

9.2 Travel literature

A large proportion of works in eighteenth-century book collections were descriptions of 'other worlds' (cf. Chapter 8), one subtype of which was travel literature. Travel writing might have been the "most diverse genre of literature in early modern Europe,"³⁴ for it served a wide range of purposes, including entertainment. There were various similarities between travel literature and prose fiction: the former might, for example, be presented in a form that closely resembled that of a novel. Travel experiences could also be described in letters, essays, sketches, plays and poems.³⁵ The titles of many travel accounts began with the words 'adventures', 'travels', 'memoirs of', 'letters of', 'confessions of', 'the journal of', 'history', 'voyages', 'tales', or 'life',³⁶ titles which we today tend to associate with prose fiction. Some of these accounts were purely fictional; some, such as various religious travel accounts, had a very long ancestry.³⁷

Travel accounts served not only as entertainment or, sometimes, as vehicles for satire.³⁸ In a period of expansion and scientific exploration, travel literature could also provide information on topics such as

³² Martin Zerlang, "Folkelige fortællinger," in *Mediernes forhistorie 1840–1880*, ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen (Copenhagen: Samleren, 1996), 36.

³³ Observations based on the listing of books in upper-middle-class libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

³⁴ Michael Carhart, "Travel and Travel Literature," in *Europe 1450–1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, vol. 6, ed. Jonathan Dewald (New York: Thomson Gale, 2004), 68.

³⁵ William H. Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1729)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 30.

³⁶ Adams, *Travel Literature*, 8.

³⁷ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2.

³⁸ See Sherman "Stirrings and Searchings," 32.

geography, topography and the mapping of natural resources and on specific occurrences of plants, food, animals, cities, people, customs and so forth. Such works were initiated by a wide range of author types—pilgrims, merchants, explorers, colonisers, captives, ambassadors, pirates, scientists.³⁹ This abundance of works presenting other worlds was accompanied by the need to be able to separate right from wrong, to make a clearer distinction between purely fictional works and those that were factual.⁴⁰

Travel reports, real or fictive, would also be used as instructive tools for moral improvement and, eventually, tolerance. Travel literature in the first part of the early modern period tended to be overwhelmingly negative in the sense that it produced stereotypes and negative evaluations of the other. As European travellers established standards for evaluating their encounters, travel literature would very often be used to legitimise colonialism, economic exploitation and the imperialist transformation of native societies. One of the notions at the core of these negative evaluations was that nature was given by God for the benefit of man: those who attempted to control nature, for instance by means of science, were civilised, while those who failed to utilise God's gift to man were savage or barbarian.⁴¹ In the contingent travel literature, therefore, and especially in that of the sixteenth century, a profound negativity towards the other was expounded, and the literature oscillated between admiration and disgust.⁴² Vivid commentary generally evaluated the religious systems of the other as inferior to that of the observer.⁴³

Yet travel literature would become an important genre for the spread of enlightened ideals, a concern reflected in Larry Wolff's categorisation of eighteenth-century travellers as the philosophical traveller, the sentimental traveller, the scientific traveller or the civilised traveller.⁴⁴

³⁹ Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings," 21–29.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of this theme, see William Nelson, *Fact or Fiction: The Dilemma of the Renaissance Storyteller* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), and Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars: 1660–1880* (Berkeley: California Press, 1962) and his *Travel Literature* (1983).

⁴¹ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 6.

⁴² Peter C. Mancall, "Introduction," in *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7–8.

⁴³ Mancall, "Introduction," 47.

⁴⁴ Larry Wolff, "Travel Literature," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 4, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 188.

The philosophical traveller, often the author of fictional accounts, had in mind the philosophical education of his reader; examples can be found in Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The sentimental traveller was primarily concerned with transmitting to the reader the personality and sensibility of the traveller him- or herself, as is evident in Goethe's *Italian Voyage* and the accounts of Casanova. The scientific traveller mainly focused on encouraging the advancement of learning, and the civilised traveller presented critical comparisons of various civilisations.⁴⁵

However, the influence of travel literature on the spread of Enlightenment theories must not be exaggerated. As P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams state in their *Great Map of Mankind*, "To point out that Englishmen by 1800 undoubtedly knew more than their predecessors had done about non-European peoples is not necessarily to claim that they understood these peoples any better."⁴⁶ Although the eighteenth century saw extraordinary geographical discovery that aimed to assemble new knowledge, Europeans were in general less interested in "getting it right," or in understanding non-European societies on their own terms.⁴⁷ Travel literature might allow space for self-reflection, but it did not necessarily radically alter European views of the world. Instead, travel literature would often continue to reinforce existing stereotypes at the expense of other voices, and formed an imperfect means of transmitting knowledge.⁴⁸

In Norway, the distribution of books on other worlds, including travel literature, expanded significantly over the course of the eighteenth century (cf. 8.3). Travel literature, as we have seen, was not a new genre. Tales such as *Fortunatus*, *Helena* and *Octavian* had referred to travel, although in a distinctly Christian context, and classic chapbooks provided much-enjoyed travel accounts for early modern readers.⁴⁹ Throughout the eighteenth century, however, and in the last decades in particular, the number of travel accounts issued by Danish printing

⁴⁵ Wolff, "Travel Literature," 190–193.

⁴⁶ P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 2.

⁴⁷ Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 47–55.

⁴⁸ P. J. Marshall, "Europe and the Rest of the World," in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 242–245.

⁴⁹ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 519.

houses rose steadily.⁵⁰ These narratives were presumably read mainly by members of the educated sections of Danish-Norwegian society. Books containing such material were also imported from beyond Copenhagen.

Other types of printed material also contained travel narratives and could be accessed by the public through a variety of channels. Magazines and newspapers, increasingly numerous in terms of volume of print, were a common source for travel accounts, fact or fiction (cf. 8.3). Of greatest significance were the so-called 'mixed periodicals' that were enlightening and morally edifying. Periodicals generally included a high number of fictional stories on the model of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, English periodicals that were translated into Danish and issued as journals in 1742–1743. Later, these publications were also reissued in book form, inspired by the Swedish publication *Den svenske Argus* (1740). The edifying periodical *Dend nyttige Danske Tidsfordriv* (1728) published moralising fiction that resembled Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.⁵¹ A Danish translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe's (d. 1818) *Robinson der jungere*, a reworking of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, became one of the most popular children's books in Denmark at the time, and it was also printed in serial form in various family magazines.⁵² Individuals as well as organisations would subscribe to periodicals.

This lively interest in the other is also reflected in Norwegian newspapers such as those issued by the various advertising offices. One of the most published authors in the Norwegian press in the 1760s was the Persian Sufist and poet Sa'di (d. ca. 1292), particularly with his work *Gulistan* (Rosegarden), which consisted of fables, tales and collections of various maxims that could be read for religious or moral purposes as well as for mere entertainment.⁵³ The readership for *Gulistan* reflects the period's lively interest in the Orient. Several other texts included in such newspapers and mostly written by Europeans related likewise to Turkey, India and the Middle East. These fictional texts could be of moralistic, philosophical, satirical or even fantastic nature and tended to promote stereotypical, but also sometimes more

⁵⁰ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 507.

⁵¹ Povelsen, "Skrifter til tiden," 52–55.

⁵² Povelsen, "Skrifter til tiden," 66–67.

⁵³ Nøding, "Vittige kameleoner," 108–110.

profound, elaborations of the culture of the other.⁵⁴ This eighteenth-century interest in the Orient can also be determined from clerical book collections where it is signified by a growing number of books on Arabic history and language.⁵⁵

Additionally, fictional travel accounts of enlightened character also appear relatively frequently in private book collections; one example is Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*,⁵⁶ but so too we find in various learned book collections Ludvig Holberg's account of Niels Klim's subterranean journey and François Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus*.⁵⁷ This last work was also published as a feuilleton in various 1770 issues of *Bergenske Intelligenz Sedler*, a newspaper produced by the Bergen Advertising Office. Also encountered regularly in Norwegian collections are the various Robinsons. These spin-offs, loosely modelled on Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* mentioned above, were often of a morally edifying character, and versions were printed in Denmark during the course of the eighteenth century⁵⁸ and ended up on the Norwegian market. Additional Robinsons not necessarily printed in Denmark could also be acquired from booksellers such as the Christiania bookbinder Niels Haslef (see table 31).⁵⁹

Table 31: Robinsons offered by the book binder Haslef, Christiania 1753

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- *Gespräche, aus dem Reiche der Todten, zwischen Telemaque und Robinson Crusoe*
 - *Robinson, der Dänische, 3theile* (1752)
 - *Robinson der neue Frantzösische* (1751)
 - *Robinson der Fränckische* (1751)
 - *Robinson, der Holländische Heinrich Texels* (1748)
 - *Robinson, zwey Westphälische* (1748)
 - *Robinson, gelehrte J. B. Schäfer und F. A. Kirchmayers* (1748)
 - *Robinsonin, die Böhmische Nabmens Aemilia* (1753)
-

⁵⁴ Nøding, "Vittige kameleon," 117–121.

⁵⁵ See Dahl, "Questioning Religious Influence."

⁵⁶ Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 37.

⁵⁷ Observations based on the recording of books in late eighteenth-century upper-middle-class book collections, see appendix 1.

⁵⁸ Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 510–513.

⁵⁹ *Catalogus guter und neuer Bücher welche vor beygesetzten Preis zu haben sind bey Niels Haslef, Buchbinder in Christiania, 1753*; The National Library, Oslo.

Various Robinsons also occurred in private book collections, such as that of von Storm (cf. 8.3). Listed under the category of *Historiae fictae* were, for instance, *Geschichte des Englischen Robinson Crusoe* (Hamburg 1731), *Der Nordischer Robinson* (Copenhagen 1741), *Der Färöischer Robinson* (Leipzig 1756), *Der unsichtbare Robinson* (Frankfurt 1753), and *Robinson Crusoe, par Feutry*.⁶⁰ Storm also possessed a range of travel accounts listed as *Itineraria*, which covered voyages to the East and West Indies, Russia, Japan and China, as well as to various European countries. We find, for instance, several works by Johan Lodewyk Gottfried, including *Voyagien der Englesen na Oosten Vest-Indien* (1706) and *Voyagien der Spanjaarden na Westindien* (1706). As discussed earlier, Storm also owned descriptions of various grand tours. Parson David Schönfeldt in Bergen, another major book collector, also possessed a wide range of travel accounts, the majority of which were in German.⁶¹ The catalogue of Schönfeldt's books issued in 1782 lists several works of this type in subsection five of the category *Historia civilis*, entitled *Itineraria, itemque descriptiones regionum Geographicae et Statisticae*. Recorded here were Peter Kalm's *Beschreibung seiner Reise nach den Nordlichen America* (1754), John Hawkesworth's *Geschichte der neuesten Reisen um die Welt* (1775) and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's *Reise um die Welt* (1772) along with various more fictional works, including *Leben des Engländers Robinson Crusoe*, *Leben und Meynungen des Tristram Shandy* and *Les Aventures de Telemaque*.

Travel literature was also purchased by reading societies. The Bergen reading society of foreign literature (Læseselskabet for Udenlandsk Literatur) purchased about 460 titles in the years 1796–1800,⁶² of which almost all, other than a few novels, described other worlds in contexts ranging from travel accounts to works of more specific historical character. Many of the items purchased by the society included the word 'Reise' in their title (see table 32), an indication of the appeal of such material to the society's membership. As in other late eighteenth-century collections, most of the works purchased by the reading society

⁶⁰ This work was first issued in Amsterdam in 1766, but year and place of print is not mentioned in the auction catalogue.

⁶¹ *Bibliotheca Schönfeldiana, sive Libri quos, dum vixit, collegit maxime Reverendus D:nus Davides Nicolaus Schönfeldt, Bergis in Norvagia 1782*; Bergen Public Library.

⁶² *Foretegnelse over de Böger, som Læseselskabet for Udenlandsk Literatur har anskaffet i Aarene 1796–1800, Bergen 1800. Trykt i Hans Kongel. Majestæts privilegerede Bogtrykkerie, hos R. Dahls Efterleverske*; Bergen Public Library.

Table 32: Travel literature purchased by the Bergen Reading Society
1796–1800

Anacharsis des jüngeren Reise durch Griechenland, Ansons Reise um die Welt, Archenholzs die Engländer in Indien, Beckers Reise in den Departementen Donnersberg, Blighs Reise in das Südmeer, Brissots Reise durch America, Browns Reise in Africa, Bruces Reise durch Abyssinien, Buchanans Reise durch die westl. Hebriden, Campbells Landreise nach Indien, Chatelets Reise in Portugal, Cühns Sammlung von Reisen in Africa, Dellavays Reise nach Constantinopel, Reise von Amsterdam durch Spanien nach Genua, Forsters Bemerkungen auf seine Reise um die Welt, Forsters Reise von Bengalen nach England, Fortis Reise durch Dalmatien, Hearnss Reise nach Hudsons Bay, Helms Reise durch Peru, Kingsbergens Reise nach Archipelagus, Klinger: Reisen vor der Sundfluth, Links Reise durch Portugal, Marcdards Reise durch Schweiz und Italien, Meiners kleine Länder- und Reisebeschreibungen, Moriz Reise in Italien, Murphys Reise in Portugal, Nemnicks Reise nach und durch England, Owens Reise durch verschiedene Länder, Pallas Reisen durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs, Reisen durch die südlichen Stathalter-schaften Ruslands, Paolino de St. Bartholomeo Reise nach Ostindien, Parks Reise ins innere von Africa, Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1772–75: oder Cooks 2te Entdeckungs-Reise, Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1776–80: oder Cooks dritte Entdeckungs Reise, Reise die seit Cook an den nordwestlichen Küsten von America vorgenommen sind, Reise um die Welt in die Fregatte Pandora von Hamilton, Reise durch Alenteyo, Reise meines Vetters auf sein Zimmer: ein Roman, Reise durch den größten und Wichtigsten Theil Franckreich im 3ten Jahre der Freiheit, Reiths Reise nach Archipelagus und Sicilien, Rhiems Reisen durch Holland, Deutschland, Franckreich und England, Riedesels Reise nach der Lewante, Schultzs Reise eines Lieflanders von Riga durch Warschau, Oestreich, Stavorinus Reise nach den holländischen Colonien in Indien, Stolbergs Reisen durch Schweiz und Italien, Taurinius Reisen durch Asien udi Africa, Thümmels Reise in den mittäglichen Provinzen von Franckreich, Vaillants zweite Reise in Africa, Vancouvers Reise in das Südmeer, Volneys Reise durch Syrien und Egypten, Wendeborns Reise durch die westlichen Provinzen Englands, Wimpssens Reise nach St. Domingo.

All spellings have retained the form in which they were recorded in the catalogue.

were in German, but not all were of German authorship. Several of the travel accounts purchased by the Bergen reading society were of English origin. The high percentage of such works reflects the fact that the number of books translated from English to German rose sharply in the second half of the eighteenth century and many of these translated texts were travel accounts or other types of historical-geographical works.⁶³ These books were then exported northwards.

Overall, the Norwegian book market seems to have been able to provide its readers with an extensive range of entertaining literature, such as storybooks. During the eighteenth century, the number of travel accounts in upper-middle-class libraries rose, works that also could be read for entertainment. Apparently highly valued by book collectors, such travel literature, whether fictional or not, provided its readers with the opportunity to become acquainted with an ever-expanding world.

9.3 *Esoteric literature*

Esoteric literature, also available before the eighteenth century, could be used for a wide range of purposes, including entertainment. As a genre, esoteric material would have appeared Janus-faced. On the one hand, esoteric works including Paracelsian literature were deemed integral to scientific practice. The physician Jacob Woldenberg (d. 1735), for example, owned several works on alchemy (cf. 6.2). On the other hand, esoteric works might on occasion be looked upon with scepticism by officials wary that this type of literature could lead to sectarianism if interpreted in more radical, spiritualist ways. Several of the so-called 'spiritualists' of the seventeenth century who found themselves in troubles with the ruling elite, such as Niels Svendsen Chronich (b. ca. 1608) and Anders Kempe (b. 1622), were inspired by precisely this type of literature.

Indeed individuals harbouring spiritualist tendencies in seventeenth-century Norway were not infrequently physicians who as such were part of an upper middle class that had the financial means and

⁶³ Bernhard Fabian, "English Books and their Eighteenth-Century German Readers," in *The Widening Circle: Essays on the Circulation of Literature in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul J. Korshin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 126–137.

intellectual skills to purchase and read this type of specialist literature.⁶⁴ Groups of spiritualists would on occasion congregate around physicians. The early eighteenth-century radicals among the first generation of Moravians in Bergen gathered around the physician Johann Turck, who was in possession of a number of esoteric works, many of which were of German origin.⁶⁵ Another esotericist with close links to physicians was the Latin-school teacher Edvard Edvardsen (d. 1695). Edvardsen was part of a small group of educated spiritualists residing in Bergen of whom at least two were physicians, and in his manuscript *Sapientia Coelestis* he left a record of his esoteric books that he reportedly used when sketching out his Paracelsian-inspired worldview (see table 33).⁶⁶

Many educated members of the upper middle classes appear to have possessed esoteric literature, although we do not know how these books were understood or used. An individual such as Henrik Wirring, whose books were auctioned off in 1769, possessed Paracelsus's *Astronomia magna* as well as a range of works by Jacob Boehme.⁶⁷ The official Owe Schelderup also possessed a number of books of esoteric content, notably several works by Robert Fludd, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Jacob Boehme and Athanasius Kircher.⁶⁸ The topics addressed by these authors included Hermeticism, alchemy, magnetism and astrology. Large quantities of esoteric literature were also occasionally auctioned off, as was the case at a book auction held in Christiania in 1772 when several hundred works of this type were put up for sale.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Gina Dahl, "Esoterisme som kunnskapskultur i Norge på 1600-tallet," *Historisk tidsskrift* 4 (2001): 445–458.

⁶⁵ See Gina Dahl, "Mystikkens plass innenfor norsk åndsliv på 1600-tallet og dens mulige ettervirkninger, europeisk religiøs pluralisme sett i et lokalhistorisk perspektiv," (MA thesis, University of Bergen, 2000), and Gina Dahl, "Brødremenigheten i Bergen- et eksempel på religiøst mangfold," *Chaos* 51 (2009): 53–66.

⁶⁶ See Edvard Edvardsen, *Sapientia coelestis, det er Guds himmliske wiisdom*, 1677 (unpublished manuscript at The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

⁶⁷ *Catalogus over afgangne Hr. Wirrings Bøger: som ved offentlig Auction Torsdagen den 16de Febr. 1769 skal bortsælges udi Sr. David Boltis Gaard i Christiania*, trykket i Christiania; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

⁶⁸ *Catalogus over endeel Bøger efter afdøde Sal. Conferentz-Raad Owe Schelderup: som paa offentlig Auction udi Madame Svaboes Gaard her i Byen den — Martiii bliver bortsolgte; thi ville Liebhaberne behage til bemeldte Tid og Stæd at indfinde sig*, trykket i Trondheim, 1760; The National Library, Oslo.

⁶⁹ *Catalogus over vel conditionerede curieuse Bøger der ved offentlig Auction bortsælges i den af Thomas Hansell beboede Gaard her i Christiania Torsdagen den 24 September 1772 og efterfølgende Dage, trykket i Christiania*; Gunnerus Library, Trondheim.

Table 33: Books of Edvard Edvardsen

Edvard Edvardsen (d. 1695) began his elementary training at the Bergen Latin School at the age of seven and left for Copenhagen in 1651. In 1654 he resided for a short while in Franeker and in Leiden, but whether he actually studied there, remains uncertain. After returning home, Edvardsen worked as a private tutor in the period 1654 to 1661, and in 1661 was appointed lecturer at the Bergen Latin School. Later, he was appointed *conrector*, a position in which he remained until his death in 1695. Edvardsen was fairly well known in Bergen during his own lifetime as a teacher, author and astrologer, and appears to have gained renown for drawing up astrological birth charts. In the manuscript *Sapientia Coelestis*, Edvardsen explores his Paracelsian-inspired worldview, according to which nature is inhabited by God, while the three foundations of life, *Essentz*, *Væsen* and *Natur* (*principia prima omnium, operationum & proprietatum*) are present in all creation. These immaterial forces are represented in their *principius activum* by the triad of Salt, Sulphur and Mercury, and according to Edvardsen, this *tria prima* is to be found everywhere, in man as well as in the planets; even God is composed of the same essences. *Sapientia* also includes several geometrical figures symbolising the composition of the universe, and Edvardsen lists several authors on astronomy/astrology, considered to be sources of inspiration for his own work, including Tycho Brahe, Copernicus and Israel Hiebner von Schneeberg. Also used as authorities in Edvardsen's cosmic representations are David Origanus's *Introductio* to astrology and astronomy and Andrea Argoli's *Ephemerides*. Edvardsen in his *Sapientia* also draws upon Paracelsian-inspired authors such as Caspar Bartholin the Elder, Jan van Helmont, Caspar Schott and Jean Beguin and of these, Caspar Schott (*Physica curiosa*) is quoted on several occasions. Christian Adolf Balduin's Hermeticist work *Aurum aurae hermeticum phosphorus* is also referred to in the manuscript, as are *Physiologia peripatetica* by Johannes Magirus (d. 1596), *Pneumatica scientifica spirituum naturalis* by Johannes Scharff (d. 1660), *Psychosophia* by Johann Joachim Becher (d. 1682) and *Angelographia* by Otto Casmann (d. 1607). In addition to these works, several Lutheran theologians are listed, as are a sample of Calvinists and Roman Catholics. Reference is also made to several more mystically inclined authors including Hugh of Palma, Tauler, Christian Hohburg, Johann Arndt and St John of the Cross.

The authors listed in the auction catalogue included Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Caspar Schott, Giambattista della Porta, Paracelsus, Raymond Lull, Oswald Croll, Jan van Helmont, Martin Ruland and Jacob Boehme, and the topics covered by the books ranged from cabbalism and alchemy to astrology, Hermeticism and Rosicrucianism.

Although esoteric literature often claimed to build on a particular kind of hidden but universal and ancient wisdom, such books could perhaps also be categorised as entertaining material. Masonic lodges may have approached esoteric literature in this light. The first Masonic lodges in Norway, principally in major towns, were established in the eighteenth century; the first lodge in Christiania, St. Olaus, was founded in 1749, and Carl til den norske Løve, Bergen's first lodge, in 1786. Typical of these first generations of Norwegian freemasons was their elitist character. Lodges recruited from the upper levels of society. In Christiania, the lodge served as an informal networking group where alliances for political and/or economic purposes were constructed.⁷⁰ In Bergen, the first group of freemasons, seven in number, belonged to the uppermost levels of society. These freemasons were close friends; some came to be related by family alliances and some supported each other financially when needed. All seven members of the Bergen lodge had also been members of lodges outside Scandinavia, primarily in France, before joining the Carl til den norske Løve.⁷¹ Such enrollment was a broader European trend, for lodges provided their membership with a highly attractive network for social communication that could provide support to travellers. In France, lodges were so popular that it has been estimated that 5 per cent of the urban male population were members of a Masonic lodge on the eve of the Revolution.⁷²

Although we do not know the extent to which individual lodges served as organisations promoting 'esoteric wisdom', some lodge members did own books that belonged to this particular learned tradition. Christopher Hammer (d. 1804), a governmental official and scientist, was active in the Christiania lodge of St. Olaus for a several years.

⁷⁰ See Baard Frydenlund, "‘Stor af Stand, Større af Velstand’ - innblikk i Christiania-elitens makthegemoni 1750–1814. Om samfunnslag, nettverk og konflikter med utgangspunkt i Nordmarkgodsets aktører," (MA thesis, University of Oslo, 2002).

⁷¹ Gina Dahl, "Bergens første frimurere," *Din* 4 (2001): 32–38.

⁷² Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, 252–255.

Educated in jurisprudence, mathematics and botany, Hammer was a prolific author who wrote on topics ranging from topography and cartography to distillation. Hammer also wrote almanacs and cookery books, and his *Norsk Huusholdning-Kalender* which addressed, for example, horticulture, was often to be found in upper-middle-class libraries of the late eighteenth-century.⁷³ Although it is difficult to assess the extent to which individual freemasons were interested in the more esoteric legacy of the Masonic system, Hammer certainly took a keen interest in esoteric traditions. Interested in alchemy, he tried to publish a manuscript entitled *Tractatus chymicis de lapide philosophico* by the Christiania physician Henrik Jochumsen Bonsac. Hammer was also interested in the Kabbalah, and wrote down his own cabbalist speculations, some of which dealt with the construction of Solomon's temple, inside the cover of his Bible.⁷⁴ In addition to a cluster of Masonic manuscripts for which Hammer paid a substantial amount, he also owned six books associated with the Masonic tradition, some of which were anti-Masonic (see table 34).⁷⁵

Heinrich Klitzing, a bookkeeper in Trondheim and another upper-middle-class agent, also owned several Masonic works and some writings on alchemy, which were listed in the catalogue of Klitzing's books published in 1804 as *Alchymistische Bibliothek, Erläuterung der hermetischen Schmaragd-Tafel, Chymischer Probier-Stein* and *Fictulds Chymische Schriften*.⁷⁶ the name Fictuld here refers to Hermann Fictuld, who founded the Gold- und Rosenkreuz Order in 1757, and was the author of *Chymische Schriften Darinnen Von Dem Stein Der Weisen Gehandelt Wird*. The work entitled *Probier-Stein* may also have been by Fictuld. Typical of the esoteric works owned by Hammer and Klitzing is their dependency on the German tradition: most of the Masonic works included in these two book collections were written in German, even though some were apparently translations of works originating outside Germany. For esoteric literature, as so often for the

⁷³ Observations based on the registration of books in upper-middle-class libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

⁷⁴ See Vegard Elvestrand, *Generalkonduktør Christopher Hammer (1720–1804) og hans manuskriptsamling: Registratur, biografi, slektshistorie* (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag, 2004).

⁷⁵ All references included in table 34 are listed according to their spelling in the catalogue.

⁷⁶ *Foretegnelse over afdöde Bogholder Heinrich Klitzings Böger, som ved Auction bliver solgt i Hr. Borgerartilleriekapitain Petersons Gaard, den October förstkommande, Trondheim, 1805, Trykt hos W. Stephanson*; The National Library, Oslo.

Table 34: Masonic books in the collections belonging to Christopher Hammer and Heinrich Klitzing

Christopher Hammer's Masonic books ⁷⁷	Heinrich Klitzing's Masonic books ⁷⁸
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>Die offenbarte Freymäurerrey und das entdeckte Geheimniss der Mopse</i>, Leipzig 1745 (translated from <i>L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi</i>). – <i>Das Geheimniss der Freymäurer in einem Schauspiel eröffnet</i>, by Pierre Clément, Frankfurt & Leipzig 1742 (translated from <i>Les Francs-Maçons</i>). – <i>Der wahrhafte Freymaurer in der Loge</i>, 1745. – <i>Verordnungen, Geschichte, Gesetze, Pflichten, Satzungen und Gebräuche der Hochlöbl</i>, Frankfurt & Leipzig 1744 (James Anderson in translation). – <i>Neues Constitutionen-Buch Der Alten Ehrwürdigen Brüderschaft der Frey-Maurer</i>, Frankfurt am Main (James Anderson in translation) – <i>Friemuurer-Ordens Apologie</i>, Odense 1777, by Johann August, Freiherr von Starck (d. 1816) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>Cagliostro's Abendtheur</i> – <i>Geschichte des Freymaurerordens</i> – <i>Maurerey von einer lectern Seite betrachtet</i> – <i>Ephemeriden der Freimaurerei</i> (two exemplars) – <i>Ursprung und Gegenstand der Maurerey</i> – <i>Der Weisheit Morgenröthe, Epilog an Freymäurer</i> – <i>Freymäurer Bibliothek</i> – <i>Abrahamsons Reden über Maurer-Pflichten</i> (Werner Hans Friedrich Abrahamson) – <i>Gesänge für Maurer</i> – <i>Ueber die Illuminirten</i> – <i>Was ist Maurerei</i> – <i>Nachrichten von Cagliostro</i>

book collections examined in this study, the German influence cannot be overlooked.

Sometimes, Masonic works was the only form of esoteric literature present in an upper-middle-class collection: Hans Tislef, for instance, a correspondent of Linnaeus, possessed several Masonic books (see

⁷⁷ All information is taken from Elvestrand, *Generalkonduktor Christopher Hammer*, 415–422.

⁷⁸ All information is taken from the catalogue of Klitzing's books (1805), cf. note 76.

table 35) and books on Orders of the Temple, but did not own any other esoteric literature.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it seems as if Masonic books were a relatively common feature of libraries belonging to the upper middle classes, whether or not their owners were freemasons; Masonic songbooks in particular appear to have been widely distributed.⁸⁰

Table 35: Masonic books in the collection of Hans Tislef

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- *Geschichte der Abschaffung des Tempel Herren Ordens*, 1780
 - Karl. G. Anton *Untersuch. über das Geheimniss der Tempel Herren*, 1782, item *Versuch einer Geschichte des Tempel H. Ordens*, 1779
 - *Briefe die Freymäurerey betreffen*, 1782
 - *L'Apocalypse de Meliton ou revelation des mysteres cenobiliques* (Père Pithois), 1661
 - *Fama fraternitatis, oder Entdeckung der Brüderschaft des Ordens des Rosen Creutzes* (Andrae), 1617
 - *Bericht vom Verhaben der Brud. des Rosen Creutzes*, 1619
 - *Sendbrief and die Bruder*, 1619
 - *Apologia Fr. Ros. C. gegen Hisaia sub cruce Ath. von Irenæo Agnosto*, 1620
 - *Le carquois d'Apollon ou les Iesuites ecrasees*, 1762
 - *La société des Francs Maçons*, 1772
 - *Salomon in all his glory or the Master Mazon*, 1777
 - *Ahiman Rezon* (Dermott), 1769
 - *Der sich selbst vertheidigende Freymäurer*, 1744
 - *Den forraadde Frimurer Orden og Mopse Laugen*, 1755
 - *Ernst. und Falck Gespräche für Freymäurer* (von Lessing), 1778
 - *Crata repoa Einweihungen in der geheimen Gesellschaft*, 1778
 - *Apologie pour l'ordre des Francs Maçons*, 1745
 - *Ius principis circa liberos murarios*, 1742
 - *L'Adept moderne ou le vrai secret des Macons*
 - *L'ordre trahie*, 1758
 - *Les Constitutions des acceptés Maçons*, 1741
 - *Almanacs des Francs Maçons*
- Masonic songbooks are not included in this survey.
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⁷⁹ *Fortegnelse over afdøde Bergamtassessor Hans Tislefs efterladte Bøger, som ved offentlig Auction blive bortsolgte, i Majii Maaned 1789*; The National Library, Oslo.

⁸⁰ Observations based on the recording of books in learned libraries, 1750–1800, see appendix 1.

The interest in what may be called magical practices was not restricted to the educated elite. Throughout the whole of the period addressed in this study, ordinary people were interested in signs, wonders and various types of folk magic, even when such practices were labelled 'devilish' or, for that matter, 'Catholic'—more likely in the first half of the study—or 'superstitious'—more likely in the later period covered by this study. Ludvig Holberg, for instance, ridiculed folk practices and magical beliefs in his play *Abracadabra* (1758).⁸¹ The Bible, including certain psalms, could be used for magical purposes.⁸² These magical ideas did not suddenly vanish, if at all. Symptomatic of the enduring interest in magical practices was the active interest in the *Cyprianus*, a book on sorcery; as late as 1907, a private request was made to buy this supplementary book of "Mosaic and secret wisdom" from a Christiania library.⁸³ Moses could be heralded as a wise-man by ordinary farmers as well as by freemasons and scientists.

Many individuals were able to acquire on the Norwegian book market works that were not of the more standard religious type; esoteric literature, for instance, circulated among the learned classes. Material that was patently entertaining was also available, typified both by an increasing number of novels as well as by traditional storybooks that remained classics. One should also note the increased presence of travel accounts in late eighteenth-century upper-middle-class libraries, works that were valued by book collectors and read for entertainment, but that also provided their readers with access to an ever-expanding world, whether fictional or not.

⁸¹ Ludvig Holberg, *Huus-Spøgelse, eller Abracadabra: Comoedie udi tre Acter* (Copenhagen: J. J. Høpfner, 1758).

⁸² Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 33.

⁸³ Munthe, *Boknâm*, 140–151.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this study has been to present an outline of books occurring in early modern Norway, that is, to provide descriptions of longer continuities as well as specific moments of change. It is my overall contention that the Norwegian book market was *European*, for books in early modern Norway were characterised by internationality in two different senses, one indicative of restrictiveness and the other identified with heterogeneity. As part of a broader European phenomenon, religiously and politically motivated measures taken to control the printed word decisively shaped the market for books in early modern Norway, and as a result the market for non-specialist literature was marked by a certain rigidity. Counterbalancing this inflexibility, however, were the numerous books that had travelled from even further than Copenhagen, the main centre of book production within the dual monarchy, works that had mostly originated in northern European countries and brought variety in subject matter and approach across Norwegian borders.

My study of book occurrences in early modern Norway has been carried out according to a 'diffusionist' methodology, namely, by investigating the distribution of various types of print material. The primary sources used in this presentation consist mainly of inventories and auction and library catalogues. There are, as I noted at the outset, various problems with such an approach, one being that these records are not fully reliable sources. They rarely include *all* books in circulation. We also cannot know if the titles recorded in the source material correspond precisely to the original works. Despite such shortcomings, the use of this particular type of material has some very specific advantages in the Norwegian context. As printing houses were established on Norwegian soil relatively late, and even then were not able to meet overall book demand, book imports were necessary. And, as little research in this field has been done hitherto, the lists of books in auction catalogues and inventories can at least provide us, albeit indirectly, with the results of this vigorous overseas trade.

What, then, can be said about book distribution in early modern Norway? Several broader European-wide developments that had repercussions for the world of books are also attested in early modern Norway. First, we return to that restrictiveness noted above, not least as it affected popular religious books. Throughout the early modern period there was a commitment to ensure Lutheranism was omnipresent; other belief systems were to be suppressed. In order to combat Roman Catholic beliefs and practices, and, not least, to create a Lutheran society, instructional and edifying books were made available on the market in high numbers. As shown in chapter 3, these endeavours proved successful: religious books were purchased by the early modern reader and many remained bestsellers for a long time. A significant section of these books was formed by instructional manuals such as catechisms and ABCs, and by a cluster of edifying texts. The authors of these works belonged mainly to late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy, and book distribution suggests they remained the most widely regarded writers throughout the whole of the early modern period. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did Pietist and Enlightenment-inspired literature appear with increasing frequency in the book collections of ordinary people as religious works gradually lost their pre-eminent position as the amount of non-religious literature grew. Replicating a pattern in other European countries, book ownership amongst the general public in early modern Norway was characterised by the longevity of certain types of traditional religious works.

The significance of confessionalisation can be observed when we look at book distribution among the Norwegian clergy. As in other European countries, the inculcation of a specific belief system through relevant educational institutions was of prime importance in moulding a clergy which, in its turn, should expose its parishioners to the true faith. In the Norwegian context, one result of this instruction was the pervasive dissemination of German authors, which signalled the strong confessional bonds between Denmark-Norway and German Lutheran territories. As such, the Norway-Denmark-Germany axis seems to have been of great significance to the dissemination of specialist literature, and two cities in particular—Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig—were funnels through which books travelled. The influence of German authors and works was pervasive but not impartial. Most of the religious books originating in German lands were written by authors associated with Lutheran orthodoxy, whether in its early, high

or, to a lesser extent, late manifestation. Lutheran orthodoxy seems to have played a similar role for both clergy and laity, although the two groupings did not purchase the same books. Only in the later eighteenth century did books reflecting Pietism and natural religion occur more frequently across various clerical collections.

We must avoid understanding 'Lutheran' too narrowly. A range of Lutheran authors, some of whom would not have been considered mainstream, were present in the collections of clerics residing in Norway. Similarly, many books owned by clergy originated in the Netherlands and England, both important to Norwegian educational and trading networks, and their authors did not necessarily advocate a Lutheran spirituality. As a consequence of this high level of internationality, the works of many European non-Lutheran bestselling authors such as Jeremias Drexel and Francis Ridder reached Norwegian shores.

The educational system also helped shape the contribution of the liberal arts to book distribution. As in other parts of Europe, the educated strata of the population were trained according to the *trivium* and *quadrivium* system of learning. In Denmark-Norway, however, and in the Latin schools in particular, more attention was given to the subjects of the *trivium* than to those of the *quadrivium*, an imbalance that can be detected in the libraries of the educated, who owned numerous books on grammar and eloquence and for whom a whole range of classical authors such as Ovid and Cicero were important. Only in the late eighteenth century were the Latin schools and their world of knowledge superseded, as rival educational institutions challenged the previously hegemonic status of the liberal arts.

Other groupings in society also responded to broader European intellectual and scientific developments. The book collections discussed in chapter 6 suggest that university-trained physicians acknowledged the innovation in the medical field that took place during the eighteenth century in particular. The distribution of medical books tells us that during the course of the eighteenth century, physicians tended to acquire a more substantial number of mechanist and iatrochemical works. Juridical personnel also responded to broader European trends within their field: book distribution suggests that Roman law lost ground during the eighteenth century to theories of natural law promoted by authors such as Pufendorf, Wolff and Grotius. Educated legal personnel were, however, far more likely to possess books of Danish-Norwegian origin, than were physicians and clergymen, a

reflection in part of the importance of national law codes and related literature in the legal sphere.

Both legal and medical works were also acquired by the general populous. In the case of the former, the public purchased mainly instructional literature in the vernacular, such as law codes. The increased number of legal texts published in the late eighteenth century also enabled the public to become better acquainted with theories of natural law. As to the latter, practical self-help manuals were published in greater quantity during the eighteenth century and were available to the increasingly literate population.

In the later part of the early modern period, and in the late eighteenth century in particular, various changes in the market of print had repercussions for the world of books. First, the number of books printed rose—at least in Denmark—as did the amount of ephemera such as magazines and newspapers. This growth was also a broader European phenomenon. Similarly, print was now channelled through an additional range of new institutions such as reading societies and lending libraries. During the period that has been labelled ‘enlightened’, a Norwegian reader had the opportunity to read a more varied sample of literature, or to read ‘extensively’, to borrow the term used by the German historian Rolf Engelsing (cf. Chapter 1). The most profound changes to book mass appeared among that part of the population with the greatest purchasing power, namely, among members of the learned sections of society. This indicates that the educated elite were the so-called ‘bearers’ of Enlightenment.

What, then, can a ‘diffusionist’ view tell us about the nature of the Enlightenment among the upper middle classes? Language plays a role—it seems as if the number of works written in Latin, Dutch or English fell, whereas the number of books in French increased. The number of German language books, however, remained relatively constant throughout the eighteenth century, suggesting that these books constituted an important part of the Enlightenment book mass. The character of eighteenth century book collections also changed in other ways. Towards the end of the early modern period, books in the vernacular became a more frequent presence as a wider range of books—both religious and non-religious—were issued in the vernacular. As these works could be read by a wide cross-section of the population, it appears that the intellectual worlds of the upper middle and the lower classes grew more alike with time, as their points of textual intersection became more numerous. The heightened distribution of books in

the vernacular may also suggest that the internationality of the learned classes lessened.

Other qualitative changes are also evident. Religious works appear no longer to have accounted for the largest proportion of books owned by the non-ecclesiastical upper middle classes. Religious works in the Norwegian setting had by and large lost their hegemonic status on the book market by the end of the early modern period, a pattern that can also be observed in other parts of Europe. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of eighteenth-century book mass, however, was the high number of books on 'other worlds,' a category that included works on history and geography. Some of these texts were of older date, but some were of more innovative character, evidently inspired by enlightened ideas. Another change to note is that more books addressing practical issues were now available, for example, manuals on economic reform and agriculture. But books for entertainment were also issued in greater number. Traditional storybooks or chapbooks continued to be available throughout the whole of the early modern period, but the quantity of entertaining material grew during the eighteenth century, thanks not least to the so-called 'rise of the novel'. In the libraries of the upper middle classes in particular, novels became a more frequent presence during the period of the Enlightenment, an evolution that again can also be discerned in other parts of Europe.

Novels were not the only source of entertainment to be found in book collections. Of particular note were travel accounts, evidently highly valued by eighteenth century readers in particular and enabling an acquaintanceship with other worlds, both imaginary and real. However, such novelties did not totally supplant tradition. The innovations to which book dissemination attests should be seen as merely enlargements of various otherwise stable patterns of book distribution that endured throughout most of the early modern period. Typical of such continuity is the continuing distribution of religious books of Lutheran orthodox character.

To this point I have emphasised the different ways in which we can claim that the patterns of book distribution in Norway were international in character. What, then, can be said to have been particularly Norwegian about the various collections examined in this study? In my opinion, the internationality which marked book distribution in early modern Norway tends to deny the existence of something uniquely Norwegian. We can, however, detect a specifically Norwegian quality in the interaction of the book world with official religion, or

rather, in early modern religious-political efforts to shape the book trade. In order to create a Lutheran and stable society, the Danish-Norwegian government sought to regulate the market of print by means of strategies ranging from censorship to restrictions on imports and the granting of privileges. Although these regulatory strategies were only partly able to contain the market, they did create very specific patterns of book distribution among both the popular and elite elements of the population. A distinctive feature of the popular world of books, for instance, was the resilience of certain types of traditional religious works. Similar trends can also be witnessed in other countries, but the edifying works distributed in Norway were mostly written by Danish-Norwegian authors, and they were also issued in the vernacular; they were therefore distinctively Danish-Norwegian.

Similarly, the educated classes were also marked by official religion in that although they had access to a range of international discourses, their world of learning remained by and large German. "Standing in the German tradition" was precisely the result of the Danish-Norwegian religious-political agenda of the day, which lay down official guidelines for learning. The importance of the German tradition was a phenomenon specific to the Norwegian book mass, a distinctive Norwegian trait.

Official religion evidently played a distinctive role in shaping the character of the books available, but we must be wary of thinking about early modern book distribution in too narrow terms. Whatever the efforts at uniformity, the interdependence of European spheres of influence in the transmission of knowledge is by far the most remarkable tale told by books circulating in early modern Norway, as a high number of authors and works found their way to even the northernmost library shelves.

APPENDIX 1:
LIST OF OWNERS OF BOOK COLLECTIONS PRINTED IN
AUCTION CATALOGUES, 1750–1800

Bildsøe, Christopher, 1751 (NBO, NA/A 5189), Schelderup, Owe, 1760 (NBO, NA/A k 7989), Hoff, Ole Hannibal, 1761 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 27), Schjelderup, Peder, 1762 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 30), Grüner, Gustav, 1763 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 17), Kiestrup, Lauridtz, 1763 (NBO, NA/A 6945), Lund, Lourtiz, 1765 (NBO, NA/A 5359), Tønder, Niels, 1766 (NBO, NA/A 6943), Schmettow, Waldemar Hermann, 1767 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 80), Wirring, Henrik, 1769 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 31), Bolt, 1769 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 67), Feddersen, Nicolai, 1769? (NBO, NA/A a 6841), Storm, Niels Nissen, 1771 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 24), Hansell, Thomas, 1772 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 64), Thode, Jacob, 1772 (NBO, NA/A 5152), Bruun, Johan Plate, 1772 (NBO, NA/A 5182), Storm, Caspar Herman, 1772 (NBO, NA/A c 6774), Nachschov, Johan Christopher Gram, 1774? (Gunnerus, HA, Box 26), Hagerup, Jochum, 1775 (NBO, NA/A I 1333), Nannestad, Frederik, 1778 (NBO, NA/A 5015), Wolff, Simon, 1778 (NBO, NA/A 5153), Hammer, Hannibal, 1778 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 33), Rohweder, Christian von / Sehested, Margaretha Sophia / Schlanbusch, Friedrich Leegard von, 1782 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 28), Svaboe, Jens Henrich, 1784 (NBO, NA/A 4522), Rachlów, Børre Henrich, 1786 (NBO, NA/A 6951), Tønder, Ebbe Carsten, 1786 (NBO, NA/A b 1361), Winther, Johannes, 1788 (NBO, NA/A 5155), Hjort, Peder, 1789 (NBO, NA/A 6908/76), Monrad, Søren Seerup, 1789 (NBO, NA/A c 9846), Tislef, Hans, 1789 (NBO, NA/A 4500a), Bang, M. F., 1790 (NBO, NA/A 5179), Ewensen, Lorentz, 1790 (NBO, NA/A 4523), Nordahl, 1790 (NBO, NA/A 6894), Rosum, Joachim Frederik, 1791 (NBO, NA/A 6950), Bull, Owe, 1791 (NBO, NA/A 5181), Bahnesen, Paul, 1793 (NBO, NA/A 6968/4), Hagerup, Søren, 1793 (NBO, NA/A 6968/3), Hjort, Hans, 1793 (NBO, NA/A 6968/2), Holch, Ole, 1793 (NBO, NA/A 6968/1), Speilberg, Hans, 1793 (NBO, NA/A 5184), Bohm, Jens, 1794 (NBO, NA/A 6968/5), From, Niels Godske, 1794 (NBO, NA/A 6968/8), Buschmann, A., 1794 (NBO, NA/A 6968/9), Lemvig, Jens, 1794 (NBO, NA/A 6968/6), Hammond, Hans, 1794 (NBO, NA/A 6946), Gartner, Hans, 1796 (NBO, NA/A 6949), Tonning, Henrik, 1796 (NBO, NA/A

6968/11), Tyrholm, 1796 (NBO, NA/A 6968/10), Lachmann, 1797 (Gunnerus, HA, Box 39), Busch, Daniel, 1798 (NBO, NA/A 6968/12), Hagerup, Christian Fredrik, 1798 (NBO, NA/A 5171). Gunnerus: Gunnerus Library, Trondheim. NBO: The National Library, Oslo.

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List of abbreviations

AGL: *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*

BWN: *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*

DBL: *Dansk biografisk lexicon*

FDNI: *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*

DSB: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*

NBL: *Norsk biografisk leksikon*

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